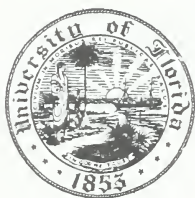



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THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

PETER A. BRANNON, *Editor*



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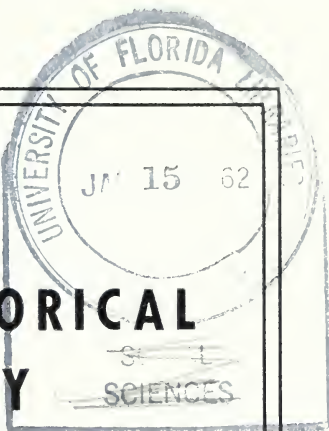
**State Department
of
Archives and History**

Vol. 23

No. 1 and 2

SPRING ISSUE

1961



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EDITORIAL

The contributions to this number of the Quarterly and to those numbers subsequently to follow in the next few issues are intended to be Confederate historical material. Many papers have been prepared during the past few months as contributory for use in the commemoration of the centennial. Some of these papers will be used and in those cases where they are used if they are essays which have won competitive prizes this fact will be so stated.

P. A. B.

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A. B. MOORE CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO SECESSION

Edited by
MILO B. HOWARD, JR.
Archivist

Department of Archives and History

The fear of many Southerners that the election of a Republican president in 1860 spelled doom for the South and its economy based on the institution of slavery found concrete expression in the 1859-1860 session of the General Assembly of Alabama. Early in the session resolutions were introduced requiring the governor in such a contingency to call "... a Convention of the State to consider, determine and do whatever in the opinion of the said Convention the rights, interest and honor of the State of Alabama requires to be done for their protection."¹ After some revision of the preamble, the joint resolutions were passed by both houses of the legislature with but two dissenting votes,² and on February 24, 1860 Governor Andrew Barry Moore signed them into law.

But the vote of the assembly on the question of calling a convention was not an indication of the unanimity of the state on the question of secession, which was to be the issue before the convention when it assembled. Governor Moore and his most trusted advisors were "straight-out" secessionists believing separate state action to be the only legal means of withdrawing from the Union. There was, however, a powerful, if diverse, group called cooperationists, which included men of varying opinions ranging from advocacy of immediate secession in cooperation with all slave states to unaqualified submission to the federal government.³ Realizing that precipitate action might antagonize the moderate cooperationists whom he feared to hold the balance of power, Governor Moore had to be extremely careful in carrying out the instructions of the resolutions. Nor was his task

¹ Acts of the Seventh Biennial Session of the General Assembly of Alabama 1859-1860 (Montgomery: Shorter and Reid, 1860), 686.

² Journal of the Seventh Biennial Session of the Senate of the State of Alabama, 1859-60, (Montgomery: Shorter & Reid, 1860), 126-7; Journal of the Seventh Biennial Session of the House of Representatives of the State of Alabama, (Montgomery: Shorter & Reid, 1860) 474.

³ Seven of the cooperationists voted for secession; 15 more eventually signed the ordinance.

made easier by the conflicting advice, sought and unsought, of public officials and private citizens.

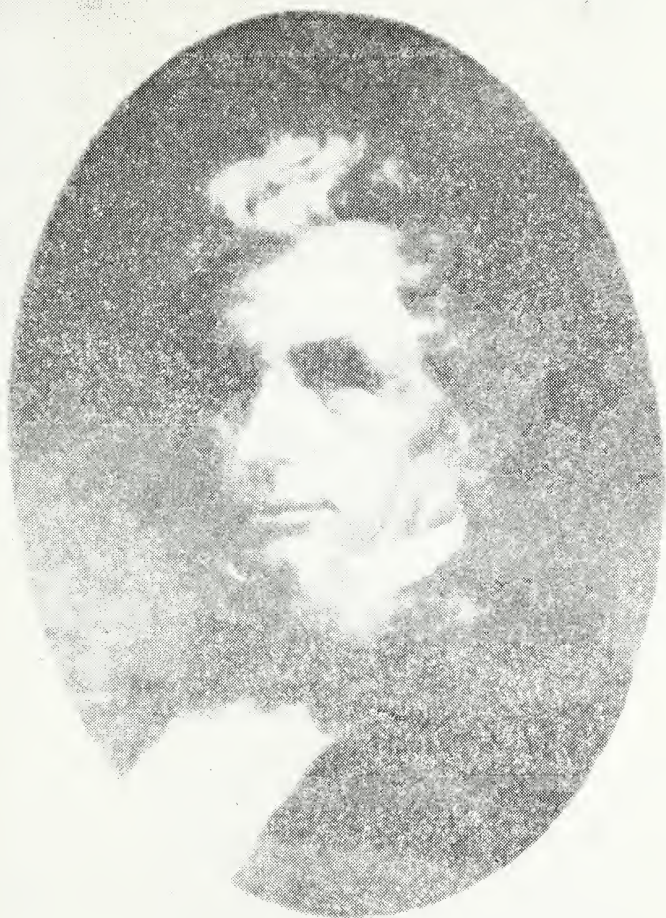
After the general election in November there was no doubt that the vote of the electoral college would necessitate calling the prescribed convention which Moore hoped would take Alabama out of the Union. While the governor advocated separate state action, he was aware that the general sentiment of the people was that Alabama must consult with the other Southern States to protect their mutual interests. He, therefore, appointed commissioners to each of the slave states whose legislatures and conventions were to meet prior to Alabama's and subsequently to all the slave states.⁴ It was the responsibility of these men to act as committees of correspondence, keeping the Alabama officials informed of activities in the other slave states where they were relaying the news from Alabama and stirring up secessionist sentiment.⁵

The following letters comprise the unpublished correspondence in the Alabama Archives relevant to calling the Convention and to the activities of four of the commissioners to the slave states. While the official reports of the latter, written for public consumption, are accessible,⁶ the letters written privately to the governor have obvious value.

⁴ William Russell Smith, *History and Debates of the Convention of the People of Alabama* (Montgomery: White, Pfister & Co. 1861), p. 35.

⁵ *Montgomery Weekly Mail*, Dec. 19, 1860.

⁶ For official reports see: Smith, *Debates*, 373-444; *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 vols. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1907) Series IV, Vol. I, 1-77. Hereafter cited as *Official Records*.



ANDREW B. MOORE

GOVERNOR MOORE TO E. C. BULLOCK⁷

Montgomery, Ala., Oct. 16, 1860

Hon. E. C. Bullock,

Dear Sir

As there can be but little doubt that I shall have to call the convention under the joint resolutions of the last General Assembly of Alabama, in reference to the election of a Republican President of the United States, I desire to confer with you, and others, in regard to the point of time when I shall be authorized to act. Will it be when the vote of the people for election is ascertained, or will it be when the vote of the electors for president is ascertained? Upon mature reflection, and upon consultation with some others, upon whose judgment I can rely, I am induced to think it will be upon the happening of the latter contingency—It will be important that the convention should be convened at the earliest day the law will permit and it is my determination to do so. It is also important that the election should not be ordered in advance of the proper time, as the submissionists would, no doubt, take advantage of it, both in the election, and in the convention to thwart the objects of those who will be for resistance in some form.

Please give me your opinion this point. It shall be confidential if you desire it.

With much respect

Yr ob't sv't

A. B. Moore

⁷ Edward Courtney Bullock, of Barbour Co., was a member of the so-called "Eufaula Regency", the most ardent and consistent group of "fire-eaters" and secessionists in the state. Governor Moore appointed him commissioner to Florida, and chairman of the Alabama delegation which escorted Jefferson Davis to Montgomery for his inauguration. Upon the organization of the 18th Ala. Infantry Regiment, Bullock was elected colonel.

E. C. BULLOCK TO GOVERNOR MOORE

Eufaula, Ala., Oct. 22d 1860

My dear Sir;

I have carefully considered the question presented in your letter & with every desire to arrive at a differnet conclusion, I am constrained to think that in contemplation of law, there is no election of president until the electors cast their votes. You are as Governor of course bound to give the Joint Resolutions such construction as would be given them by the courts & so regarding them, I think there can be but one reply to the question you propose. There is no legal or constitutional obligation on the persons chosen as electors, to vote for any particular person. The theory of the government is that they would be left to vote for whom they choose and until the votes are actually cast, it is constitutionally possible that they may vote for some unobjectionable person.

I think it unfortunate that this delay is necessary, but there is one way in which its effect may be mitigated. The time for which the notice may be given, cannot exceed forty days,⁸ but may be as much shorter as the Governor thinks proper. The electors cast their votes early in December & the notice will be sufficient, to hold the election early in January. This would be about as early as the election would probably be held under a different construction of the act. The intervals between the popular election in November & the meeting of the elections in December might be most profitably employed by the resistance men in organizing for the brief campaign that it ensue.

I hope you will excuse me for alluding to another subject. There are several companies in this section of the State organized for months past, and clamoring for arms but unable to obtain them. I know how impossible it is for the head of a great commonwealth to please every body, and do not doubt that there is some satisfactory reason for the delay, but I should be glad to have it in my power to explain the true state of the case, so as to prevent you from being prejudiced by misapprehension.

Very respectfully

E. C. Bullock

His Excellency

A. B. Moore

Gov.

⁸ See: Acts of Alabama, 1859-60, 686.

SEPTIMUS D. CABINESS⁹ TO GOVERNOR MOORE

Huntsville, October 29, 1860

Hon. A. B. Moore

Montgomery

Ala

Dear Sir:

I trust that this communication will not be regarded as an act of unwarrantable presumption on my part. Tho never an active participant in any political canvass, I have not been a careless observer of any of them, and having watched the present, with a very deep interest, I am not less qualified perhaps to think correctly as to its results, than if I were retiring from an active participation in the canvass.

I do not know your opinions as to the most proper course of policy to be adopted by our State upon the election of Lincoln, nor do I propose to trouble you with any suggestions on that subject; for tho in favor of some kind of action, I have no well considered opinion as to that question. But believing as I do, that no policy which may be adopted can be successfully carried out, without a greater disposition, than now exists, upon the part [of] our people to harmonize, and feeling satisfied from my knowledge of your character, that you will as the Chief Executive Officer of the State earnestly desire to pursue that course which will be most likely to secure the greatest possible harmony & concert of action among our citizens; I have thought it my duty to contribute as much information as I can as to the state of sentiment and temper existing among the parties in this valley—in order that you may be better enabled to judge correctly as to your own course.

The Bell and Douglas parties combined, have as I think a majority, in each of the counties in this valley, except Jackson and perhaps Morgan, counties, and notwithstanding the radical difference between them as to the power of a territorial government, there is a very cordial sympathy between them; the bond

⁹ Septimus D. Cabiness was Register in Chancery for Madison County for several years. In 1853 he was defeated by A. J. Walker for chancellor of the Northern Division. His only other political race resulted in his election to the Legislature 1861.

of union *seeming* to be, a common dread, that it is the settled purpose of the Breckenridge party to *precipitate* a revolution, with a view to the destruction of the Federal union.

This seems to be the settled conviction of the great mass of those parties, and in leading them to that conclusion, their leaders have as you are aware made much capital out of the course of the Breckenridge party at Charleston, the Military Bill passed at the last session of the Legislature and the joint resolutions which provide for the call of a convention; insisting that each of these circumstances constitutes an important link in the chain of evidence which they say exists to show the treasonable purposes of the Breckenridge leaders. And in denouncing the joint resolutions they now charged that the leaders in the "conspiracy" were afraid to submit the question of a call of the convention to a vote of the whole people—that under the present call & ratio of representation, a minority of the people may get control of the convention and precipitate the country into a bloody war against the will of a majority of the people of the State.

By vehement denunciations of this fancied conspiracy, and unmeasured eulogies upon the Federal Union the leaders of these opposition parties have gradually led their followers into the adoption of doctrines touching the theory of our government, which in 1799, would have stamped them as rank federalists. Insisting that their first & highest allegiance is to the Federal government—that there can be no lawful resistance to pressures of the Federal government or of a violation of the compact by the other States;- that the only remedy is the right of revolution on the part, not of the State, but of the people of the State, and that *success* alone can exempt those participating in the revolution from a traitors doom; many of them insisting that the States occupy the same relation to the general government that our counties do to the State—and that if a state has the right to secede from the union, the several counties have the right to secede from the State - But a few days ago I heard the most influential leader of the Douglass party in this part of the State declare that if the people of South Alabama should succeed in putting the State out of the Union he would be in favor of putting this valley out of the State; contending at the same time that a separation of the State from the Federal Union would

operate as an utter annihilation of all government within the borders of the State and that the people in this section could set up a government of their own.

I think it manifest therefore that the people in this part of the State are not in a fit temper for the election of delegates to a convention called under resolutions which have been for party purposes, so generally denounced and against which such a high degree of prejudice has been arrayed.

My opinion is that no states rights man Whig or Democrat could be elected from any county in this valley except from Jackson and perhaps Morgan, unless the opposition should resolve to take no part in the convention with a view to resisting its action - If the States rights party should get control of the Convention - the cry will be that they represent but a minority of the whole people - that it is a fraud upon the rights of the majority, and thus the Convention will be powerless for good. - There are, I think, many supporters of Breckenridge, who have not yet despaired of preserving our rights in the Union by concert of action among the Southern States; and who would not join heartily, if at all, in any course of policy that did not *unquestionably* meet with the approbation of a majority of the whole people of the State. I regard it, therefore, of the utmost importance, that we shall get rid of this objection however groundless it may seem, that a *minority* may through the action of the Convention rule the *majority*; and I hope you will deem it proper to convene the Legislature at an early day for that purpose and urge them in view of the events which have transpired since its adjournment to submit the question of convention or no convention to a vote of all the voters of the State. And just here I will suggest that in the event of such a course, I think it would under the existing state of party excitement be wise for the Legislature to abstain from making any declaration as to their opinion of the future policy of the State under the action of the convention, lest they should be charged with a wish to dictate. It is best I think in a great an important movement, that it should commence with the people, who constitute the power of the State.

Those opposed to *any kind of action* would then be driven to the *undisguised advocacy* of *unqualified submission* and would I am persuaded be reduced to a lean minority.

The Convention being called by a decided majority of all those voting at the election, I think there would be a pretty general acquiescence upon the part of the opposition to the *will of the majority* (which they now profess to revere so much); and the heat of passion and prejudice engendered among ourselves having cooled down and become concentrated into a settled and cool determination to resist all further abolition aggression; we may hope that the people with a great degree of unanimity will seek to select as delegates the most able and considerate men of the country. But if called under the present resolutions, even tho the States rights party shall get control of the convention, it will in my judgment result not only in no good, but in the deep and bitter humiliation of that party, and tend greatly to pin upon us a consolidated Federal government. Many of our own party are as mad and almost inconsiderate as those of the opposition and I fear that in adopting the course which I have suggested you will encounter the earnest & perhaps bitter opposition of some of your more "*precipitate*" friends. But I confidently believe that when well considered it will meet with the approbation of the great majority of the people of all parties and hope that its results will in a few months demonstrate its wisdom to all. If as I conjecture you will not deem it to be your duty to call the convention prior to the meeting of the electoral colleges, you will have ample time to obtain the previous action of the Legislature.

Allow me to add in conclusion, Governor, that I have no fondness for politics and do not often seek to obtrude my views upon others even in the circle of private life: and I deem it due to myself to say that this communication is not prompted by an apprehension that the suggestions contained in it have not already occurred to & been considered by you; but by a desire to strengthen your conclusions against the opposition which I fear they will encounter if as I hope you concur with me in opinion.

With high regard

Yours &c.

S. D. Cabaniss

If Tenn, Ky., Mo, Va and Md could be prevailed upon to unite with the other Southern States in a demand for the call

of a general convention of all the States; would not a refusal on the part of the Northern States to meet in convention, or having met, a refusal to give satisfactory guarantees or assurances of the execution of the fugitive slave and of their abstaining from all acts calculated to disturb our tranquility, tend to produce a united South & build up a formidable opposition party in the Northern States. I fear that those five States will not unite in any general movement unless in that way, and without a united South I have not much hope of preserving the Union & the Constitution. The sovereignty of the states has been so completely over shadowed by the power & patronage of the general Government, that a large portion of the people of all the states except So. Carolina, will never I fear be able again to have a clean conception of state sovereignty until the states shall reassemble again in convention.

EDMUND W. PETTUS¹⁰ TO GOVERNOR MOORE

Jackson, Miss., Dec. 2d, 1860

His Excellency, Andrew B. Moore;

Dear Sir,-

I started from Cahaba on the first boat after receiving your commission; and went without delay to New Orleans. There I learned that the Rail Road to this place had been broken in many places, by the recent heavy rains; so I was forced to take a boat for Vicksburg, and did not arrive here until Sunday morning. The Legislature of this state adjourned last Friday.

I enclose herein a copy of the message of Governor Pettus, from which you will see his determination to use his official influence to aid in separating this state from the present federal government. He also recommends the passage of a law to stay

¹⁰ In selecting commissioners Gov. Moore was careful to choose men not only for their political views, but for their previous contact with the politically prominent men of the states to which they were sent. Edmund Winston Pettus, a brother of Gov. John J. Pettus, of Mississippi, was, therefore perfectly qualified to go to that state.

the collection of debts. This proposition caused great excitement among the merchants and other trading people. I fear that the proposition has produced no good results and indeed I cannot see the propriety of the measure. My opinion is that it is not wise or politic to embarrass the great issue now before the people of the Southern States, by raising questions collateral to the main object, but not essential to success. The legislature did not adopt the recommendation of the Governor in this particular.

The legislatures adopted a long and carefully prepared preamble setting forth the wrongs of the Southern States, and a resolution in these words: "**Resolved, by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi, That in the opinion of those who now constitute the said Legislature, the secession of each aggrieved State is the proper remedy for these injuries.** Three members voted against this resolution.

The legislature also passed an act to provide for the holding of a convention of the people. The election for Delegates will be held on the 20th inst., and the convention will meet on the 7th day of January next. I send you herein a copy of the bill. It passed by the unanimous vote of both houses.

A resolution was also adopted, requesting the Governor to send commissioners to other Southern States. You will find herein a copy of the resolution.

The feeling here is very strong in favor (of) secession; and I have been assured by the Governor, and members of the legislature and many others, that this state will secede from the present Union. There is however a party here, as in Alabama, in favor of waiting for the cooperation of all the Southern States—in other words,—in favor of submission. This party has some considerable strength; but not sufficient, as I am informed, to endanger the Success of the secession movement.

I will write again at the earliest opportunity; and state more in detail the information I have received as to the purposes and plans of the people of this state.

Most respectfully,

your obt. servt,

Edmd. W. Pettus.



ISHAM W. GARROTT

ISHAM W. GARROTT¹¹ TO GOVERNOR MOORE

Milledgeville Ga. Decr. 7, 1860

My dear Sir:

I arrived here last night, have had an interview with Gov. Brown to-day & have spent the balance of the day in hearing the debates in the Senate & House of Representatives. I am much pleased with the Govr, found him a very clever polite gentleman of say 45 & a warm secessionist. He gave it as his opinion that Ga. would secede when her convention meets, but said that he thought the action of S. C., Ala., Fa. or any other southern state would reduce Ga's going out to an absolute certainty. In mixing with the members & others & hearing some of their speeches, I feel that a general disposition has prevailed to refer all matters connected with the question of secession to the convention which is to assemble on the 16th Jany. & hence the Legislature has been averse to expressing any opinion on the great pending question. No direct vote has been taken in the Senate (which has when full 132 members) but some cooperation resolutions were introduced some days ago & either an account of the disposition above indicated or the strength of the secession movement, they were voted down by some twenty majority. The opinion of the Gov. & others with whom I have conversed is that a large majority of the Senate are in favor of secession.

I heard a discussion in the house this evening on the resolutions of which I enclose you a copy. Ga. may well be proud of many of her eloquent sons—among whom I will mention Hart-ridge of Savannah & Gipson of Augusta. Their speeches were pointed, able & thrilling, several times bringing down the applause of the house. Some of the cooperation men resisted, but their resistance was feeble & spiritless. I found also that even of the few who voted against the resolutions there were some who opposed them not because they were against secession, but

¹¹ Isham Warren Garrott, a native of North Carolina, was a prominent lawyer in Perry County, practicing with William M. Brooks, president of the Alabama Secession Convention. In September, 1861 he raised the 20th Alabama Infantry Regiment, which he commanded until he was mortally wounded in the battle of Vicksburg. His commission as brigadier-general was forwarded from Richmond, but too late to reach him before his death.

because they thought that the action of the Legislature would have a tendency to forestall the convention. The resolutions were passed in the house on a call for the ayes & noes by a vote of 101 to 27.

My opinion is from all I can see & hear that Georgia will certainly go out with her sister states that bind her on three sides. Gov. Brown asks me to say to Gov. Gist to put S. C. out of the Union high & dry as quick as possible. The President's message rather hastens than hinders the glorious movement. It was referred to in debate to-day.

I start in a few Minutes for Columbia. In haste

Yours truly

I. W. Garrott

To his Exclncy

A. B. Moore

Montgomery

Columbia S. C. Decr 8, 1860

My dear Sir:

I have just closed a long & (to me) interesting interview with Gov. Gist. He is an affable & intelligent gentleman of fine personal appearance & agreeable conversational powers. Information derivd from him satisfies me that there is not the slightest doubt that S. C. will secede. 125 out of the 164 members of the convention are for immediate & unconditional secession & the others are avowed secessionist but a little weak about the knees—& would like to have a little delay in order to see if by possibility something may not turn up which would justify S. C. in remaining in the Union. When, however, they have to meet the issue which the 125 will compel them to march up to, the convention will be a unit on the question. The Governor says that we may rely on S. C.'s going out in three or four days at farthest after the convention assemblies. He has been himself elected a member of that body. Two members of Congress from the state have written him by the last mail that Gen. Davis,

Gov. Brown & others have abandoned all idea of compromising the difficulty & say that they desire S. C. to go out of the Union without delay. She can bring 60,000 fighting men into the field & is fully prepared for war if war should result. She is no doubt prepared with all munitions of war more thoroughly than any southern state in the Union. The Gov. seems to be fully posted as to what is going on in & out of the state. The rumor that the general government was introducing soldiers into Fort Moultrie in the character of workmen he regards as unfounded. He says that S. C. can take the forts in Charleston harbor without a great deal of bloodshed, that they have sufficient ordinance to do it & fears that it will be difficult to restrain the people from doing it after the state secedes. With coolness, prudence & great care, he thinks that secession will be peaceable, that if peaceable, other states will be tempted to follow S. C., if not peaceable, then the slaveholding states will rally to her support & will then secede. He does not expect a collision on account of the collection of the revenues even. The collector at Charleston will probably resign, then Mr. Buchanan will either not nominate a successor or if he does, he will not be confirmed by the Senate. In the meantime the authorities of the state can proceed to collect the duties which she may impose, provided *it is not done in the Federal Custom House*. In short by coolness, & prudent caution, the most delicate matters can be managed so as to avoid an outbreak. Please consider what is said about the customs as confidential. From all I can hear on all sides S. C. is as certain to go out at least as early as the 20 or 21st inst. as the sun continues to rise & by the time I return home, I expect to have to use my commission as a passport through the free & independent Republic of S. C.

Yours truly,

I. W. Garrott

To his Excellency A. B. Moore

Raleigh - Dec. 10, 1860

Dear Sir.

I arrived here this morning, presented my credentials &

have been cordially received by Gov. Ellis & other members of the Legislature as the representative of Ala. A hearing before the Legislature would have been granted as early as practicable but I find that the old parties are kept up here with all their bitterness. Each party is watching the other for some advantage while I think both are afraid to take a step in the right direction. The public sentiment will no doubt soon drive the leaders of both parties to stand for the cause of the South. Meetings have already been held in thirty two counties. Two went for submission, two more it is believed have gone the same way & the balance have declared for secession. A little more time will do the work. The Democrats as a party seem to be in favor of secession, but are as yet a little too timid. They favor the result as a popular move. Some few Democrats (they are very rare) are for submission. As a party the opposition men seem to be opposed to secession, but a few are for it. This impression however, is more the consequence of not unearthing themselves than of any positive declaration of principles. Several have declared for secession. The opposition men are so jealous of a Democrat that they suspect him at the outset, and are predisposed to reject any proposition which he may make. Hence the importance of Ala's having a commissioner here of that party, & on this account I telegraphed you his morning. J. D. Webb, Watts—or any prominent well known Bell man could from all I can learn accomplish something here amongst the opposition, probably much just at this time. Webb would be preferable on account of his being a native of this state & having relatives here, while Watts' reputation would make him also very acceptable.¹² This I learn from others & you will for this reason excuse the suggestion of their names. The secession movement is conceded on all hands to be on the increase here as well as elsewhere. The waves of the popular current will soon submerge all who oppose it, & maybe all who do not take it at its flood. If you decide not to send a joint commissioner, I shall have a hearing before the Legislature at some early day. A movement was made to day to send some *quiet* gentlemen as commission-

¹² Gov. Moore, following Garrott's advice in every respect except in the choice of the commission, appointed Robert H. Smith. Garrott himself had been a Whig, but in the 1850's joined the Democratic Party. He was a Breckinridge elector in 1860.

ers to S. C. to beg them not to be in too great haste. It may pass but will do no earthly good.

Yours very respt. & truly

I. W. Garrett

His Exclncy—A. B. Moore

Montgomery

Ala.

Raleigh N. C. Decr 13, 1860

My dear Sir

At the risk of boring you with my communications (this being my 4th) I write you again, hoping that what I may say may be serviceable in some way if not otherwise interesting.

In the House of Commons of this state, the question as to calling a convention was postponed on yesterday till 3rd of January by a majority of not more than four, some six or eight southern rights men being absent. The southern rights party do not seem to regret this vote much believing that a few days delay will bring developments of the popular will which will constrain many members to take different ground from that they now occupy. Such will doubtless be the result for I am assured by men from different parts of the state that the masses of the people are ahead of the leaders.

In the Senate a debate is going on a resolution introduced by Hon. Bedford Brown (formerly U. S. senator) appointing Gov. W. A. Graham, Judge Ruffin & Messrs. W. N. Edwards or W. M. N. H. Smith¹³ Commissioners to South Carolina with instructions to do what they may to induce her to postpone the question of final secession until it can be ascertained whether or not our rights can be secured in the Union. The discussion takes a wide range. To-day Gov. Moorehead who is a man of large influence made a speech, federal in principle to the last decree, in

¹³ Garrett probably meant to write W. N. H. Smith, who was a prominent Whig and a leading candidate for Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1859.

effect ignoring the existence of the state governments so far as the general government is concerned. George 3rd need not have asked a stronger advocate of royal principles in revolutionary times. Mr. Brown replied but was not a match for his opponent even occupying as he did the vantage ground so far as correctness of position is concerned. The debate will be continued tomorrow & perhaps Mr. David Outlaw another man of state prominence belonging to the submission party, though an old nullifier, will address the Senate.

The measure will be defeated on other grounds not involving the right of secession, some taking the ground that S. C. does not want to hear from N. C. on the subject, that her Gov. & the Charleston Mercury have in advance rejected such profers of advice & consultation of others that it is now too late to do anything on the subject.

Allow me to suggest that as soon as it is ascertained that N. C., Va., Tenn., Md., Del., Kenty., & Miss. or any of them or any other slave state are not going out with the cotton states, our Legislature ought to be immediately convened (if the convention does not see proper to exercise the power), to pass laws to prevent Ala. from being flooded with their slaves, I have heard a number of men say that if N. C. did not go with the cotton states, they would remove south forthwith with their slaves, they believing that N. C. will in that event become at no very distant day free soilized. These men are not traders but men who will go with their negroes. We must not permit such an exodus of slaves from these grain growing states into the cotton states. By compelling them to keep their negroes, their interest will continue to be identified with ours, because they must prefer to keep the black race in slavery to emancipating them & leaving them in their midst to amalgamate with the whites.

I see nothing, however, as yet to induce me to change my opinion about N. C.'s going out of the Union, but her people move slowly & we must wait patiently. A John Brown say now within her borders or in Ca. or Med[sic], Texas & Miss. are too far off, would help her along amazingly.

The object of my mission here has not as yet been officially announced, in consequence of waiting for Mr. Smith,¹⁴ but

¹⁴ See Garrott to Moore, Dec. 10, 1860, and footnote.

it is generally known of as the representative of Ala. I am received with great consideration and respect. From your last despatch, I anticipate the arrival of Mr. Smith about next Sunday.

Very respt. & truly

I. W. Garrott

To his Exclncy

A. B. Moore

JOHN A. ELMORE¹⁵ TO GOVERNOR MOORE

Charleston Decr 19, 1860

His Excellency A. B. Moore

Sir,

I received your despatch on the night of the 17th at 11 P. M. after the convention had adjourned to this place of which I telegraphed you on yesterday morning—I did not leave Columbia until 2 P. M. yesterday and arrived here last night—This morning was the earliest opportunity I had of communicating your despatch to the convention which I did by a letter to the President enclosing it and requesting that it be read & submitted to them which was done and it was received with applause - I hesitated about making this communication so public, as you might have intended that I should only exhibit it to the members or tell them of its contents, but as I was satisfied the object was to produce an influence on the Convention, and as I had already in my speech to them at Columbia on the night of the 17th told them to go forward without delay, and announced it not only as my opinion as the wisest and best course to strengthen the cause in the other States, but that I was authorized by you to say it was your opinion, I thought I had fully

¹⁵ John Archer Elmore, Jr. was a native of Laurens, S. C., and received his education at South Carolina College. An ardent secessionist, Elmore at one time practiced law in partnership with William Lowndes Yancey.

committed you and the only way was to carry it through - In my haste I omitted to mention that the Convention when at Columbia invited Mr. Hooker the commr from Miss & myself to address the Convention at 7 P. M. which we did and you will have seen what I said, in the paper by the time this reaches you - The Convention today did nothing but receive and refer resolutions to committees. - The Committee to propose the ordinance has not reported - and probably will not report before the day after tomorrow - Although nothing more was done than the reference of measures, there was some speaking on the various questions referred - Among the questions was one in relation to Commercial Affairs - Postal Arrangements - the surrender of the Forts here, - A provisional Government with other seceding States - This last excited some interesting discussion between Col Hayne the Atty General who introduced it, sustained by Col Keitt, & opposed by R. B. Rhett - Col Hayne's proposition was to the same effect as that of which I wrote you, as suggested in the preliminary meeting of the members of the convention at Columbia - The most embarrassing question apparently is first that of commercial matters or how vessels are to be cleared here &c, and mail facilities when the act of secession is accomplished - The strongest objection to the disruptment of the mails by the act of secession is the effect upon Georgia whose convention will not meet probably for near 4 weeks afterwards and in the mean time they will be cut off from the reception of letters papers &c which will furnish a strong argument to the opponents of the cause in that state - The proposition in this subject was to appoint commrs to proceed to Washington and make some arrangements with the President for the continued transmission of the mails through this state, until those were finally settled - It was said that this had been done by nations while engaged in actual warfare - but the difficulty is that Mr. Buchanan may not think proper to recognize and treat with this State even on this question - If he makes any such arrangement, does he not recognize to that extent at least her separate and independent nationality - These I think are the two questions that embarrass the Convention principally - The matter of the posts does not trouble them so much although a very important one.

There is no question about secession here - I have not seen since my arrival one man who has said he was opposed to it, or who doubted it would take place - I am told by every one that

the people are ahead of their public men, and are determined upon it, if no other state shall follow, or it should make her land a desolation - The old men seem as determined as the young and although there must be some who from their natures cant help being opposed to it, such is the overwhelming sentiment they dare not whisper their opposition - From the work they seem to be cutting out by the various matters referred to Committees I think the Convention will sit the whole of this week. - I anticipate also some interesting discussion -

In my opinion the most serious matter to be solved is how is commerce to be carried between this State & foreign states after the act of secession - If however as I understand clearances are granted only as evidence of the lawfulness of the trade, then the cargo itself would afford in general such evidence - In proof of this I heard it stated by a gentleman as a fact that some years since a foreign vessel was sold here by the sheriff, and under the laws of the United States the Collector decided that he could not give the purchaser a citizen of this place a clearance after his cargo was on board & the vessel ready to sail to England - The owner put a captain on board, gave him his sheriff's title and started him - He arrived at his intended port in Great Britain and exhibited the sheriff's deed - no question was made, he delivered his cargo and took one in return -

You will have seen Gov Pickens' inaugural - It is a capital speech and state paper - but I am told that three weeks ago he was for making new appeals in the Union, amendments to the Constitution &c &c -

Cobb late Secretary of the Treasury was in Columbia on the day Pickens was inaugurated. He is for action on the part of the South and will do all he can to bring Georgia up to the mark - When he first arrived he favored the idea of So. Ca making her ordinance take effect on some day say 1st February by which time all the other states that were going would be ready and that they should all fix on the simultaneous march out of the Union - I told him the prompt action of this State was necessary to strengthen us in the other States and if such a course was adopted, I feared it would be disastrous to the cause in his own State - That with So Ca on one side - Alabama and Miss on the other & Florida on the south firm unyielding and unhesitating, Georgia would be obliged to yield to this pres-

sure and take her stand with us.-Such also was the opinion of all whom I heard speak to him on the subject and he apparently yielded - You have seen the progress of public sentiment in Louisiana - Can Georgia, with the movements in So. Ca. Florida, Ala, Miss, Louisiana & Texas hold back - You have by this time seen Toombs' letter - Cobb undertook to explain it as nothing very terrible according to Georgia tactics and Toombs' especially - not very satisfactorily I confess however to myself or others.

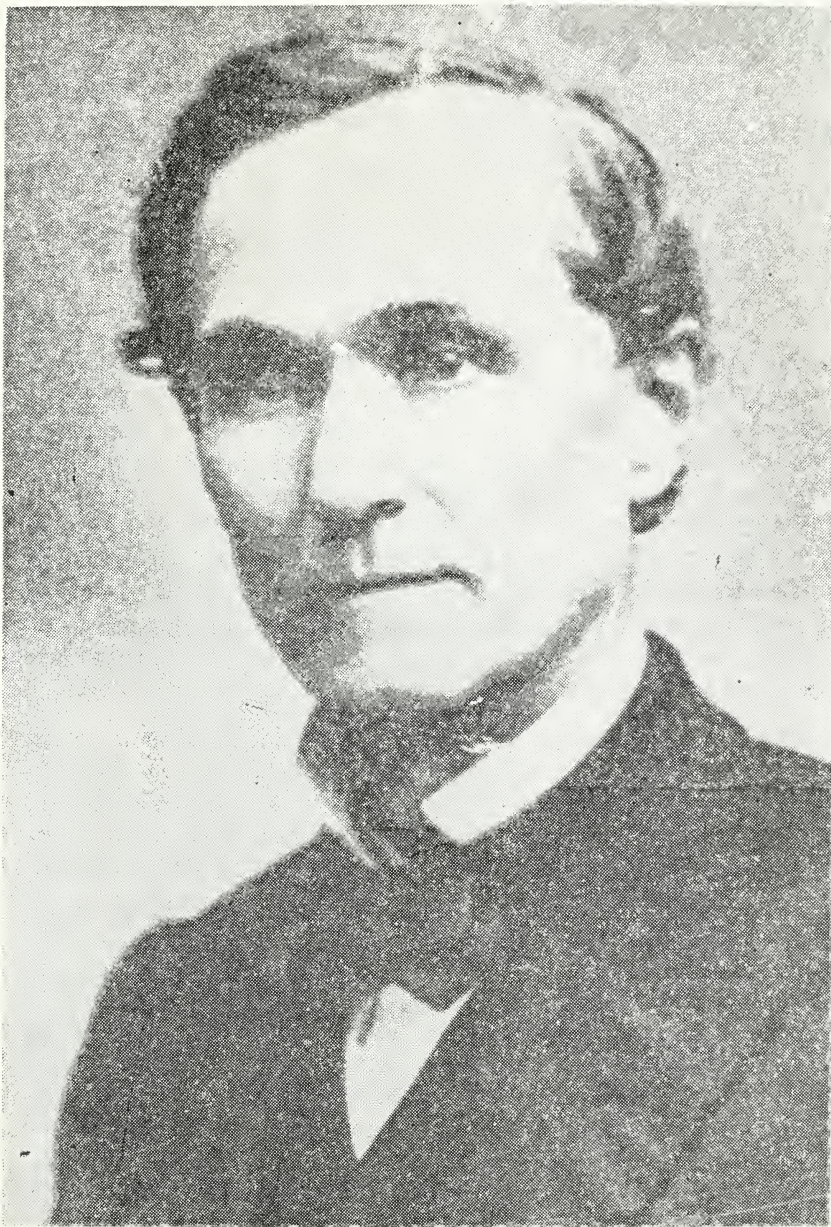
I find the convention in the aggregate a very able body, but no one yet towers above the rest - There as yet has appeared no one who has a controlling influence -

How come on your others missions - Mine as I told the convention was a mere labor of love - I had nothing to do but hollow hurrah - They were all so precisely where Ala wanted them - The others Garrotts & Smith's particularly is of difficulty - Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee Kentucky & Missouri, I am willing to see stay out until the new confederacy adopts her constitution as she pleases, and then these other states will have to come in under that Constitution or stay out -

I will write again tomorrow -

With respect yrs very truly

J. A. Elmore



JOHN GILL SHORTER

JOHN GILL SHORTER¹⁶ TO GOVERNOR MOORE

Montgomery Alabama

January 7th 1861.

His Excellency

Andrew B. Moore

Governor of the State of Alabama,

Sir:

In obedience to the duty assigned me by your excellency, by commission under the great seal of the State under date the 21st day of December last, as Commissioner to the sovereign State of Georgia to consult and advise with his Excellency, Governor Joseph E. Brown, and the members of the convention to be assembled in said state, as to what is best to be done to protect the rights, interests and honor of the slaveholding states and to report the result of such consultation in time to enable your Excellency to communicate the same to the Convention of the State of Alabama, which is to assemble to day in this city, I have the honor to report:

That I left home on the morning of the third instant, on my route to the Capitol of Georgia, where I hoped to communicate the next day with the Governor of that State, but on arrival at Macon ascertained that he was then in Savannah. I applied at the telegraph office to send a despatch to him at Savannah that I might be advised of any purpose he had to return to Milledgeville at an early day, but owing to obstructions in the way could not succeed - The shortness of time now remaining to me would not admit of delay, and I left on the first train of cars for Savannah - On arrival in Savannah, the evening of the 4th, I was advised that the Governor would leave that night on his return to Milledge; and I likewise returned with him to Milledgeville, where I had with him the enclosed correspondence, which I herewith submit for the consideration of your Excellency.¹⁷

¹⁶ Shorter succeeded Moore as governor, serving from December 1861 to December 1863.

¹⁷ The correspondence appears in Smith, *Debates*, 194-399, and *Official Record*, Series IV, Vol. I, 16-19.

I beg leave further to report that the election for delegates to the convention of the state of Georgia occurred on Wednesday the 2nd instant, and that the convention will assemble on Wednesday the 16th instant. You will be gratified to learn from the communication of Governor Brown that the returns of the elections, which have already reached the executive office, unmistakably indicate an overwhelming majority in favor of secession by the state of Georgia from the Federal Union.

With high consideration, I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's

Obdnt. Srvt.,

Jno. Gill Shorter.

Montgomery Alabama,

February 4th 1861.

His Excellency

Andrew B. Moore

Governor of the State of Alabama.

Sir:

I had the honor to address your Excellency on the 7th ultimo, in submitting the report of my official visit as commissioner from the State of Alabama to his Excellency Joseph E. Brown Governor of Georgia; and now I have the honor further to report, that on the 14th ultimo I received from the Hon. William M. Brooks, President of the Convention of the State of Alabama, the following communication.

Montgomery, Ala., January 14th 1861.

Hon. John Gill Shorter:

Dear Sir:

The following resolution was passed by the convention in session to day: "Resolved by the people of the State

of Alabama in Convention assembled, That the Commissioners heretofore appointed by the Governor of this State to the several slave holding States, be and they are hereby directed to present to the Conventions of said States, the Preamble, Ordinance and Resolutions adopted by the people of the State of Alabama, in Convention, on the 11th day of January, 1861, and to request the consideration of and concurrence in the first resolution."

With the above resolution is transmitted to you, by order of the Convention, a Certified copy of the Preamble, Ordinance, and resolutions referred to.

Respectfully,

William M. Brooks,

President of the Convention

In further discharge of the duties assigned to me by your Excellency, and in obedience to the instructions of the Convention of the State of Alabama, I repaired to Milledgeville Georgia on the 16th ultimo, where and when the Convention of the state of Georgia had assembled, and officially communicated to the Hon. George W. Crawford, President of the Convention, the fact of my presence, together with my credentials and the nature of my instructions - This correspondence having been duly submitted, and five hundred copies ordered to be printed for the use of the Convention, I enclose your Excellency a printed copy of the same.¹⁸ I was not only officially but cordially received by the Convention; and upon invitation of that body addressed the convention on the next day, and in person had the honor to present the Preamble and Ordinance of Secession, together with the resolutions adopted by the Convention of the State of Alabama.

And it is with the most heartfelt satisfaction that I advise your Excellency that the Convention of the Sovereign State of Georgia, by a majority of one hundred and nineteen, on the 19th ultimo, adopted a solemn ordinance dissolving her connection

¹⁸ For the text of this correspondence see: Allen D. Candler, *The Confederate Records of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta: Chas. P. Bird, 1909) I, 622-627; *Official Records*, Series IV, Vol. I, 54-56. A reproduction of this rare Confederate imprint appears on page 6 of Peter A. Brannon's *Organization of the Confederate Post Office Department* (1960).

with the United States of America; and on a subsequent day by resolution accepted the invitation of Alabama to meet with the delegates of the slaveholding states in the city of Montgomery, on this day, for the purpose of consulting with each other as to the most effectual mode of securing concerted and harmonious action in whatever measures may be deemed most desirable for our common peace and security.

With high regard I am

Your Excellency's

Obedt Sevt - Jno. Gill Shorter.

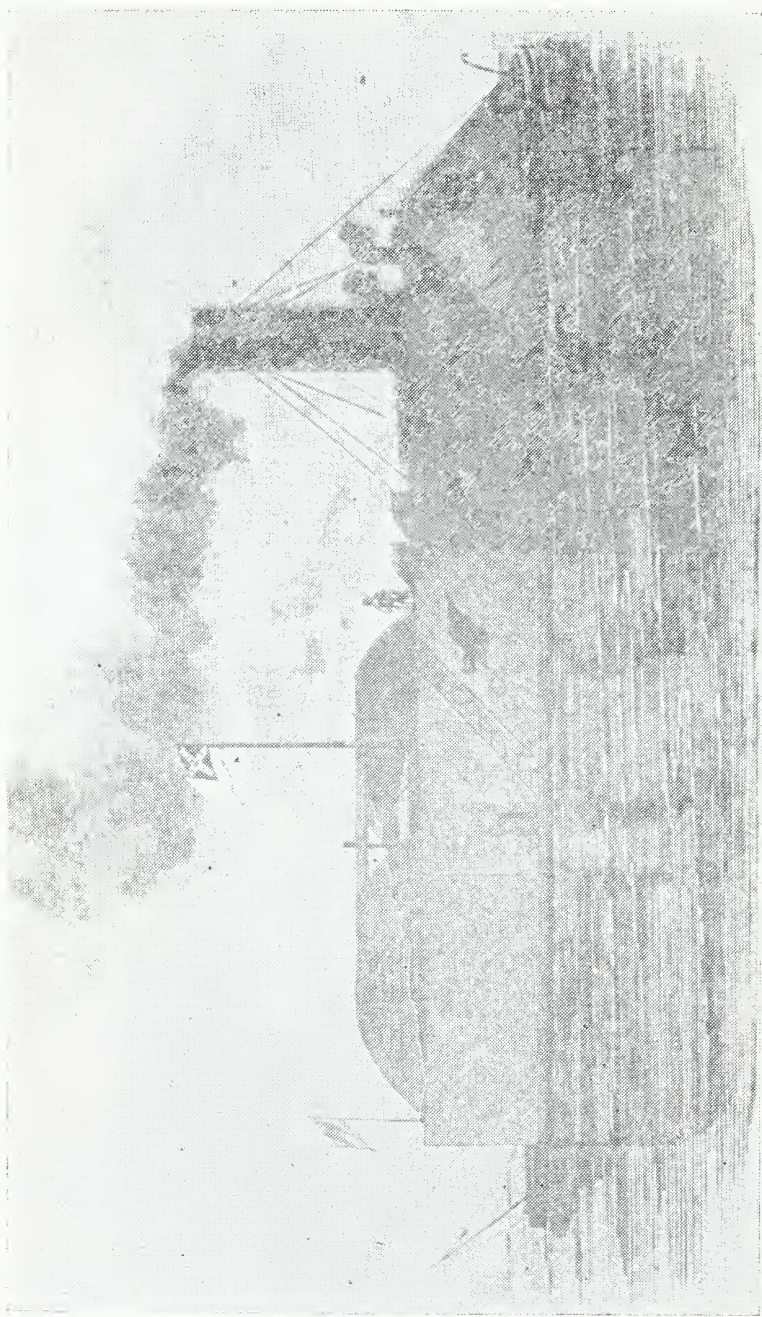
MOBILE DURING THE BLOCKADE

By Earl W. Fornell*

The basic seaport strategy of the Confederacy during the War Between the States was of necessity dominated by a concept of defense in depth—that is, a willingness to sacrifice harbors and coast lines if need be in order to hold the bastions of the interior, despite the fact that the strategy complemented the role of the Union blockade and contributed in a small part to the failure of the Confederacy to secure diplomatic recognition from the nations of Europe. This doctrine of defense, even though acknowledged by the Union forces to have been excellent strategy, may nevertheless have been a mistake on the part of the Confederate high command.¹

* Department of Government, Lamar State College of Technology, Beaumont, Texas. Research funds for the latter part of this paper were provided by the Lamar State College of Technology Research Bureau.

¹ Earl W. Fornell, "Confederate Seaport Strategy," *Civil War History*, II, 61-68 (December, 1956); Earl W. Fornell, "The Civil War Comes to Savannah," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XLIII, No. 3, 247-260 (September, 1959); Richmond (Virginia) *Whig*, quoted in San Antonio (Texas) *News*, September 3, 1863.



The Rebel Ram Baltic, now lying at Mobile, as seen from the blockading fleet,
February 29, 1864 — From A Sketch by E. B. Hough.

In any case, the policy of sacrificing a seaport city when the occasion demanded in order to defend the interior often aroused serious political ill will. Southerners living on the seacoast did not always look kindly upon their more secure compatriots in the safer upstate areas. To allay this friction state officials often issued public statements which bore little resemblance to the military measures designed to defend the port cities. The situation at Mobile, Alabama, the state's only seaport, was typical. It illustrated the dilemma Southern governors faced as they struggled to adjust their local defense patterns to over-all strategy and at the same time to convince their countrymen along the seacoast that they were not being sacrificed in the interest of upstate security.

During the war period, 1861-1865, the city of Mobile, which is situated thirty miles inland at the north end of Mobile Bay, had a total population of 4,268 persons of which 2,841 were whites, 335 free colored, and 1,092 Negro slaves.² Second in importance among the Gulf ports in 1860, Mobile's trade with the interior of Alabama and Mississippi was largely dependent upon two railroads, the Mobile and Ohio and the Mobile and Great Northern and a network of rivers, the Tombigbee and the Alabama which, flowing together about thirty miles north of the city, formed the Mobile River.³

Inasmuch as the channel in Mobile Bay was navigable even to heavy battleships of the Union Navy, defense of the city and much of the interior of Alabama depended upon the fire power of the guns which stood at its mouth in Fort Morgan and Fort Gaines. If adequate guns could not be secured for these forts, the logic of strategy required that the area be sacrificed and that a technique of defense in depth be employed to secure the interior region.⁴ Among other things, this strategy included the placing of artillery high along the bluffs of the river banks in order to permit firing down upon the decks of enemy gunboats in the event they should penetrate the outer defenses. While this plan may have been good in the military sense it produced internal dissension and unquestionably damaged the unity of the war effort of the state as a whole.

² *The Population of the United States in 1860, The Eighth Census* (Washington, 1864), p. 484.

³ *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, XLV (December, 1861), 22.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

Military operations in Alabama began on January 4, 1861, before the state seceded, when Governor Andrew B. Moore ordered state troops to seize Fort Morgan and Fort Gaines and the Federal arsenal at nearby Mount Vernon.⁵

Governor Moore had not been a vigorous secessionist. However, the election of Abraham Lincoln convinced him that secession was certain and he acted vigorously to prepare the state for war. Under his direction the legislature appropriated \$500,000 for immediate military needs and set in motion a plan to raise \$3,000,000 by means of floating treasury notes and 8 per cent state bonds.⁶

On January 8, 1861, responding to fears expressed by the citizens of Mobile, the Governor pointed out to the Alabama Secession Convention "the grave danger" which threatened the city of Mobile. He warned that if strong Federal forces should take the city, the interior would be exposed. The real threat, said Moore, was Federal naval strength.⁷

A month later, on February 3, Alabama Senator Benjamin Fitzpatrick wrote Moore from Washington, stating that to his knowledge no immediate threat to Mobile existed. However, the citizens of the port city were fearful. Jeremiah Clemens, writing from Mobile, advised Confederate Secretary of War Leroy P. Walker that "all our calculations should be made with reference to the breaking out of a war of vast magnitude and unparalleled ferocity." Clemens expressed concern at the "discontent here (Mobile) at the passage of the Ordinance of Secession. . . . Last week (William L.) Yancey was burned in effigy."⁸

In response to requests from Moore and other persons interested in the defense of Mobile, Confederate Secretary of the Navy, Stephen R. Mallory, on August 16, wrote to D. N. Ingraham, Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance at Norfolk Navy Yard asking if there were any 32-pounders which could be sent to Mobile. Ingraham replied that 169 guns of various calibre had

⁵ *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890-1901) Ser. I, Vol. 1, pp. 327-329; cited hereinafter *O. R. Armies*, followed by series number in Roman numerals, the volume in Arabic, the part number (if any) and the page.

⁶ *American Annual Cyclopaedia* (later Appleton's) . . . of the Year 1861 (New York, 1861), p. 12.

⁷ *O. R. Armies*, I, 1, pp. 327-329.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 444-447.

been sent to North Carolina "for safe keeping" and that none could be released without permission of the Governor of North Carolina.⁹

The blockade of Mobile Bay by the United States Navy began on November 25, 1861.¹⁰ On Christmas Eve a lively cannonade exchange occurred between Federal ships and the gunners at Forts Morgan and Gaines. The action served a double purpose: it aroused the citizens of Mobile to the seriousness of their danger and it emphasized the serious economic plight caused by the blockade. Immediately, the public clamor was for better defenses for the port.¹¹

On February 8, 1862 Judah P. Benjamin, who had replaced Secretary of War Walker, wrote Major General Braxton Bagg that it was not the intention of the Confederate government to provide any defense of Pensacola but that it "might be advisable to keep effective garrisons in the forts in Mobile Bay." The continued occupation of Forts Morgan and Gaines, he added, "would probably defer for some time a movement against Mobile, and possibly would defer the capture of that city, **but the risk of its capture must be run by us.**"¹²

The fall of New Orleans in April, 1862, aroused the newly elected Governor John Gill Shorter of Alabama. On May 1 he telegraphed Secretary S. R. Mallory that "the fall of New Orleans involves the loss of Mobile. If the enemy ascends Alabama and Tombigbee rivers, middle line of communications is gone. Can't you furnish guns to fortify those rivers from Pensacola or elsewhere?" The only "elsewhere" nearby which had guns was Mobile Bay.¹³ A few days later Shorter received a dispatch from V. M. Randolph, flag officer of the Confederate naval forces at Mobile Bay, which outlined the strategy which was to be employed in the defense of the State of Alabama. According to Randolph, Brigadier General John H. Forney, the army commander in Mobile, had already removed the guns from

⁹ Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion (26 vols., 1894-1922), I, 16, p. 836. cited hereinafter as O. R., Navies. The Governor refused to release the guns.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 778.

¹¹ Ibid., 17, pp. 11-16; *Mobile Evening News*, September 26, 1861.

¹² O.R., Navies, I, 17, p. 169.

¹³ Ibid., 18, p. 847.

the batteries at Cedar Point and Fort Gaines. Randolph stated that it was the opinion of both military and naval authorities in Mobile that the works in the bay" are useless for the protection of the harbor and the city of Mobile." He further assured the Governor that "thus you perceive that at least forty cannon, some, too, of large calibre, can be spared from the works in this harbor for the protection of the rivers above." Continuing, Randolph reiterated that Montgomery and Selma, each of which contained machine shops and an armory, could be most effectively protected by placing guns on the bluffs at Claiborne and on the high points opposite Taits Shoals. The advantage of fortifying these bluffs rested in the fact that "the elevation being so great the guns could be so depressed as to be fired down upon the decks of the enemy's gunboats and therefore through their bottoms, whereas they could not possibly elevate their pieces sufficiently to reach our batteries." Randolph also believed that obstructions should be placed in the river at points where guns could be brought to bear upon invading vessels. "If our cockleshell gunboats survive the attack expected to be made upon Mobile (which I much doubt)" he concluded, "we may aid on defending the river above."¹⁴

During the spring and summer of 1862, when it became known in high Confederate military circles that Mobile had been written off in favor of an interior defense in depth along the river areas, Brigadier General John H. Forney was besieged with requests for his artillery. In May General Robert E. Lee had told General John C. Pemberton to apply to Forney for smooth-bore 32-pounders. Later, John R. Waddy, assistant adjutant-general in the Department of South Carolina and Georgia, sent a dispatch to Forney, informing him that Lee had told Waddy "to call upon Mobile for heavy guns." On Lee's authority, Pemberton applied pressure upon Forney to procure guns from the Mobile fortifications. Pemberton indicated that the guns were needed to defend the Savannah River.¹⁵ J. B. Jones, a clerk at Confederate headquarters, recorded in November, 1862 that "the Chief of Ordnance Bureau Colonel Josiah Gorgas recommends the Secretary of War to remove the lighter guns from . . . Forts Sumter, Moultrie, Morgan (Mobile), for the

¹⁴ OR., Navies, I, 17, pp. 847-848.

¹⁵ O. R., Armies I, 14, p. 528.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 528-533.

defense of rivers likely to be ascended by the enemy's gunboats."¹⁷

Forney failed to reply directly to Pemberton and Lee. In fact, the only response from Mobile was a dispatch to the effect that Forney was absent from the city and, besides, there were no guns in Mobile to spare. They had already been promised to Governor Shorter for the defense of Alabama's rivers.¹⁸ But the impression that Mobile was a source of ordnance died hard—as late as October, General P. G. T. Beauregard attempted to draw upon General Forney for cannon.¹⁹

When news of the shelling of Fort Pulaski at the mouth of the Savannah River and the news of the burning of Brunswick, Georgia reached Mobile, the editors of Mobile's two newspapers pointed out the fearful parallel. "Would the fate of Mobile" be the same, inquired the editors.²⁰ And, seven months later, the state legislature resolved that, despite the fact that the city of Mobile was seriously threatened by the enemy, it "must never be desecrated by the polluting tread of the abolitionist foe . . . [the] port must never surrender, but must be defended from street to street, from house to house, and at last burned to the ground rather than surrender."²¹

Between December, 1862 and April, 1864 Mobile awaited an expected assault from the Union Navy.²² At times, rumors of attack kept the inhabitants of the city in a state of acute anxiety. Captain Fitzgerald Ross, a European artillery officer whose sympathies were with the South visited the fortifications in Mobile Bay late in 1863. "I confess I did not like (Fort Morgan) at all," he wrote, and Fort Gaines was "no better." "All agreed that these two forts were a very inadequate defense for the Bay, into which the Yankees might enter whenever they chose to make the attempt."²³

The actual security of Mobile Bay, however, from 1862 un-

¹⁷ J. B. Jones, *Diary of a Rebel Clerk*, 2 vols. (New York, 1935), I, 182.

¹⁸ O. R. Armies, I, 14, p. 533.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 633.

²⁰ *Mobile Register and Advertiser*, April 12, 16, 18, 1862.

²¹ Joint Resolutions, Acts of Called Session and Second Regular Session Alabama Legislature, 1862, p. 202 (November, 1862.)

²² *Mobile Daily Tribune*, June 28 and August 10, 1863; Jones, *Diary* II, 145, 151, 158 and 172.

²³ Fitzgerald Ross, "A Visit to the Cities and Camps of the Confederate States, 1863-1864," *Blackwood's Magazine*, XCVII (February, 1865), 171.

til August, 1864 rested not upon legislative resolutions nor upon Confederate naval or military strategy, but rather upon the timidity of Federal naval forces to attempt an assault.

When Admiral David Glasgow Farragut, on August 6, 1864, began his attack the weakness of Mobile's defenses were at once revealed. Defense in depth meant the sacrifice of the port. Thus, not only was political unity jeopardized, but also Mobile was forced to forfeit its only contact with the outside world.

* * * *

The internal security of Mobile during 1861-1865 was also threatened by the fact that 7,734 of the county's free citizens, or 24 per cent, were foreign born.²⁴ They had not been vigorous Secessionists. Indeed, in the 1860 elections Mobile citizens had cast a majority of their votes for Stephen A. Douglas,²⁵ and throughout the conflict serious pro-Union discontent had frequently arisen in Henry, Dale and Mobile Counties.²⁶ Pro-Union, desserter, and lawless elements in these counties were so rampant that many men, loyal to the South, refused to enter military service because they feared to leave their families at home at the mercy of these "non-Southern elemnts."²⁷

While Governors Andrew B. Moore, John G. Shorter, and Thomas H. Watts, during their respective administrations, had serious conflicts with the Confederate authorities over conscription and control of the able bodied man power of the state, these governors and the Confederate conscription officers both encountered serious opposition when they attempted to muster a share of the Mobile foreign population into the armed forces.

The practice followed by the foreign born men in Mobile to avoid military service was first to exhaust all the normal ruses to avoid conscription; if these tactics failed, they appealed to the consular agent in the city representing the nation of their birth for a certificate re-establishing their former citizenship or for a certificate asserting that they had never intended to remain permanently in the United States. During the spring

²⁴ Eighth U. S. Census (Population), p. 10. More than one-half of Alabama's total foreign born population lived in Mobile.

²⁵ Horace Greeley, *American Conflict*, 2 vols. (New York, 1865.) I, 355.

²⁶ O. R., *Armies*, I, 52, p. 40.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 28, Part II, p. 273; *Ibid.*, IV, 2, pp. 1043-1044.

of 1962, over 500 young men of Mobile received such certificates from consular agents.²⁸

The Confederate Conscription Act was written to include all able bodied men between the ages of 18-25 who were "residents" of the Confederate states. The Secretary of War interpreted the act to mean all persons who had acquired a domicile in a given area. Since domicile was a question of law, the Secretary ruled that each case should be decided on the facts.²⁹

In time, when avoidance of conscription by foreigners became a serious threat to the morale of the natives in Mobile, the non-natives were required to furnish more substantial proof of non-residence.³⁰ Finally, two Confederate judges ruled that all men residing and doing business in the city were legally domiciled, and thus liable to conscription. Several protests arose in Mobile over this interpretation. The Confederate State, War and Justice Departments eventually ruled that any "domiciled" foreigner could be used only for patrol duty and for the defense of the port. The courts in Mobile followed this interpretation.³¹

In order to secure service from the "foreigners" the authorities organized two companies of special guards: "The French Consular Guard" and the "British Consular Guard." The published assignments of duty listed in the Mobile press of the time indicated that the foreign units served in conjunction with a "southern" unit as an added precaution.³²

In July, 1863, the Confederate commander at Mobile, dissatisfied with the cursory service he was getting from the foreign guards, determined that in return for the protection of the law which they were receiving, the "foreign residents" were subject to full conscription. Nicholas G. Portz, the French Vice-Consul, at once sent protests to the Confederate authorities in which he lectured the officials on points of international law and filed complaints against the local commander. The French officer took the position that "naturalization was the only proof of domicile, hence these enrollments in Mobile were illegal, im-

²⁸ *American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1862, p. 245; *Mobile Tribune*, July 8, 1863.

²⁹ *O. R., Armies*, IV, 1, p. 1127.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 2, p. 70.

³¹ *O. R. Armies*, II, 2, p. 786.

³² *Mobile Register and Advertiser*, April 12, 1862.

polite and likely to lead to War with France.”³³ The Mobile commander, however, continued to judge each case on its merits and conscripted men where proof of domicile was clearly proven.

In July of 1863 the editor of the *Mobile Tribune* expressed concern over the large number of foreign Mobile residents of long standing who “were giving up their permanent domicile and were declaring their intention to reclaim their old allegiance.”³⁴

When foreign men in Mobile had exhausted all other means of avoiding conscription they applied for permission to leave the port. This method seldom proved satisfactory, since, in the few cases where the potential conscript was able to secure permission to leave the port, the United States blockading officers refused to cooperate, and in those cases where the blockaders would grant passage, the Mobile authorities would not cooperate. When the British Consul attempted to solve the dilemma by helping foreigners to escape, he was dismissed by the British Minister in Washington for his pains.³⁵

The resistance of the native born citizens of Mobile to being sent away from the Gulf coast area for service in other areas was vigorous. This resistance was in accord with the persistent effort on the part of the governors of Alabama to keep their able-bodied men either in state guard companies or in Confederate units which were definitely fixed as a part of the defense of the Gulf coast.

Governors Moore, Shorter, and Watts maintained a persistent struggle with the Confederate conscription authorities over the control of troops. The governors maintained that the State troops were “troops of War” and should not be taken from the state by conscription; the Confederate War Department held that the local troops were simply militia units and thus subject to conscription. Since the only actual defense for the port of Mobile rested upon such man power as could be mustered to meet a landing of Federal forces following a naval conquest of the bay area, the governors and the responsible citizens in Mobile demanded that local man power be kept on the coast.³⁶

³³ O.R., Navies, I, 15, pp. 143, 180 and 316; *Ibid.*, 16, p. 12.

³⁴ *Mobile Tribune*, July 8, 1863.

³⁵ O. R., Armies, Series III, 4, pp. 780 and 806.

³⁶ O.R. Armies, Series IV, 3, pp. 173, 236 and 464.

In December of 1862 when Mobile was thought to be in immediate danger, Governor Shorter called for special volunteers by proclamation. The response was excellent, as all who joined the state units were assured of avoiding the Confederate conscription.³⁷

The Confederate Secretary of War, James A. Seddon, kept his conscription agents at work in Mobile and in some instances these agents forcibly removed men from the county. Since the governor's protests were vigorous and at times threatening and popular feeling in Mobile in this situation supported the governor by means of protest meetings and demonstrations, Secretary Seddon, at length, agreed to allow local troops to stay in the county to defend the port city."³⁸

Later, during the administration of Governor Watts, the conflict between the Confederate war department and the state authorities over control and allocation of military man power continued and in every instance Watts won the constitutional debates over the control of state man power.³⁹ On one occasion in a conflict over troops in the Mobile area, the Governor sent Seddon an ultimatum: "Unless you order the Commandant of Conscripts to stop interfering with state companies, there will be a conflict between the Confederate general and the state authorities."⁴⁰

The fear of invasion, the presence of foreigners and the awareness that the nearby Florida coast was a "refuge for Yankee sympathizers" kept the citizens of Mobile in a constant state of uneasiness.⁴¹ As early as April 1861, citizens of the city began to suspect each other. The Southern Safety Association, which had been organized in Mobile to attend to matters of public security in the city, became alarmed during the spring of 1861 because of the abuses which were being committed in the name of the association. The officers of the organization, therefore, published in the newspapers of the city a public announcement stating that the association did not condone the practice of "ordering out of the city certain citizens for alleged threats to southern institutions which are based on hearsay."

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 2, p. 256; *Ibid.*, LII, Pt. II, pp. 414-415.

³⁸ O.R. Armies, Series IV, 2, p. 256; *Ibid.*, LII, Pt. II, pp. 414-415.

³⁹ O.R. Armies, Series IV, 3, p. 323.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

⁴¹ O.R., Armies, Series I, 14, p. 716.

The officers repudiated the practice of using the association as a means of "condemning residents of Mobile from various considerations of private pique, opposition in business, hatred, malice, petty vengeance, etc." The officers warned the citizens of Mobile not to "abuse the meaning of the association"⁴²

A Baptist preacher named John W. Elliott was charged with being a "Yankee spy" rather than a preacher. His friends aided him to escape from the city. The editor of the **Mobile Daily Tribune** issued a "hue and cry" for the man. "Be on the lookout for the rascal," the editor warned the citizens of the county.⁴³

During the month of April, 1862, when the Union forces were conducting active campaigns against Savannah and New Orleans, public anxiety in Mobile reached serious proportions. On April 10th, Governor Shorter came to the city and delivered a public address in an effort to calm the fears of the people. He asserted that he was doing everything in his power to protect the city. He made no references to the plans which were being made at that very time, however, to remove the guns from Fort Gaines.⁴⁴

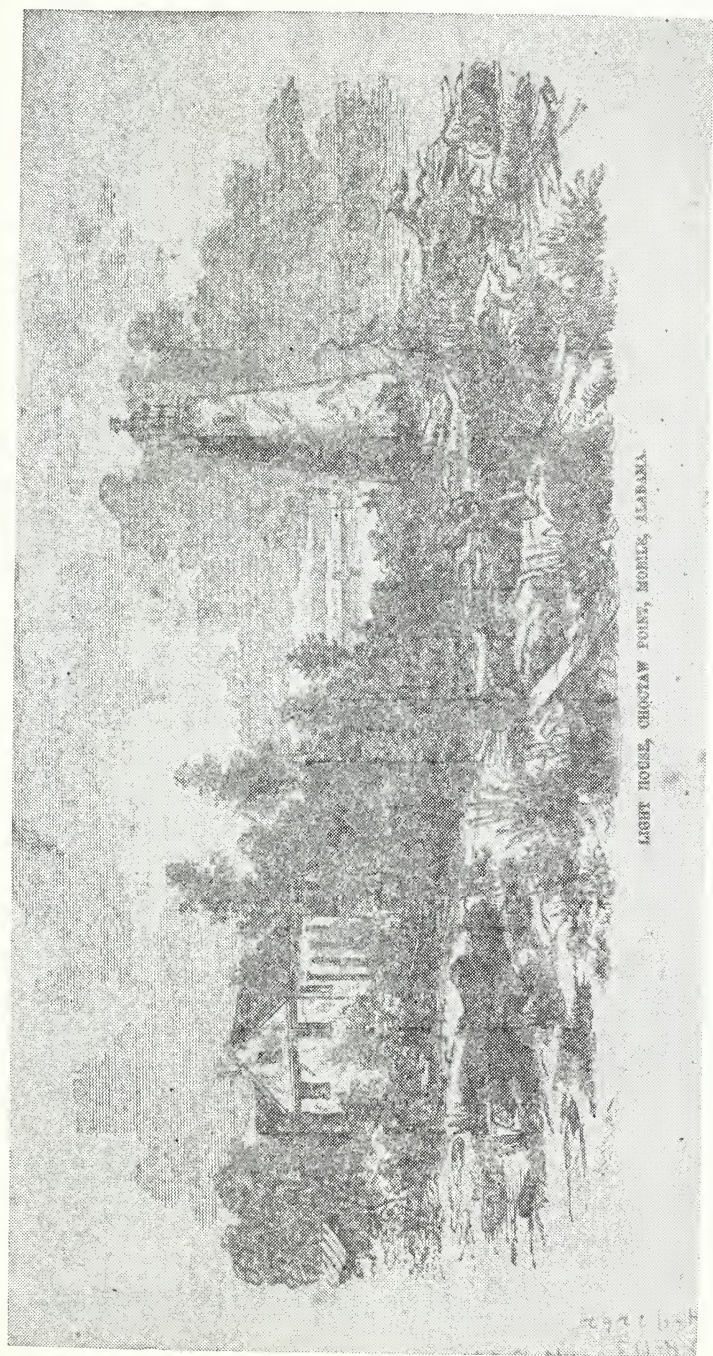
The day after the governor left the city, all the saloons were ordered closed; all sales of alcohol were limited to medical needs. Hoarding of food and other supplies in expectation of higher prices became noticeable.

⁴² *Mobile Daily Tribune*, April 20, 1861.

⁴³ *Mobile Daily Tribune*, June 28, 1863.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, April 10, 1862.

⁴⁵ *Mobile Register and Advertiser*, April 12, 1862.



LIGHT HOUSE, CHOCTAW POINT, MOBILE, ALABAMA

LIGHT HOUSE, CHOCTAW POINT, MOBILE, ALABAMA

The fear of invasion, the deteriorating economic life of the city, the rising prices, and the civilian resentment toward the encroachment of the Confederate military authorities aroused a general discontent among the citizens with their unhappy lot. Edmund Spann Dargan, the member of Congress from Mobile, assumed the duty of speaking up in behalf of his suffering constituents.⁴⁶ The Congressman stated that in his opinion the city of Mobile was being ground between two millstones, one being the encroachment of Confederate military power and the other being the Yankee threat.⁴⁷

By the close of the year 1862, Governor Shorter expressed concern to Secretary Seddon regarding the discontent in the port city. He complained that many persons were escaping from the city to Florida coast, which was then under the control of the enemy.⁴⁸

During the years of 1863 and 1864, as the lot of the citizens in the county and the port deteriorated, great numbers of former Secessionists became "disaffected people."⁴⁹

On Christmas Day, 1863, a number of soldiers in Conecuh and Mobile counties formed a "Peace Society" and determined to lay down their arms. These men, who came from the poorer classes in southwest Alabama, were stationed near their families; they reflected the general discontent existing among their relatives because of the deteriorated economic conditions of the area around Mobile. The most serious revolt occurred in General Clanton's Brigade stationed in Conecuh County. General Dabney H. Maury, then in command at Mobile, quashed the revolt.⁵⁰

During the last years of the war civilians and soldiers in Mobile complained vigorously against profiteering in food. "Every branch of business," wrote the editor of the **Evening News**, "has narrowed down to this: How much can I get for what I sell?" The editor concluded by stating that "the poor cannot pay these prices!"⁵¹

⁴⁶ *Journal of the Confederate States*, Volume IV, pp. 80, 96, 105, 124, 129, 142; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Volume IV, 214.

⁴⁷ Jones, *Diary*, I, 250, 235, 591.

⁴⁸ O.R. *Armies*, Series I, 14, p. 716.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Series IV, 3, pp. 1042-1043.

⁵⁰ O.R., *Armies*, Series I, 26, Part II, pp. 548, 551-552, and 555-557.

⁵¹ *Mobile Evening News*, August 10, 1863.

Criticism was levelled against Mayor John T. Slough of Mobile; the press accused the mayor of contriving with the fishermen and the vegetable markets to establish a monopoly of the supply for purposes of profiteering. The real cause of inflation, said one editor, is to be found in the "speculators, hoarders, and extortioners"; it is the "aliens, they are the evil ones."⁵² The high price of food forced up by speculation, wrote the editor, "keeps half the city hungry."⁵³

During the years 1863 and 1864, there was considerable contraband trade in cotton between the Confederate speculators in Mobile and Union brokers in New Orleans. General Benjamin Butler's "speculating brother" was engaged in this trading. J. B. Jones recorded in his diary that President Jefferson Davis advised the Secretary of War that a large trade from Mobile "is going on with the enemy at New Orleans."⁵⁴ The Union navy was aware of this traffic.⁵⁵

While contraband trade between Mobile and New Orleans yielded profits for speculators in the Alabama port, it contributed little to the economic welfare of the average citizen. The uneven sacrifice which war conditions enforced upon the inhabitants of Mobile contributed to the "disaffection" of the less fortunate majority of the population. The economic, social and political needs of the citizens in the Mobile area were sacrificed for the security of the interior. This policy might have been more effective politically if the leadership in Alabama had openly appealed to the citizens of the coastal counties to accept this heroic sacrifice in the defense of their interior bastions; but instead, the state and Confederate leaders kept promising armament which never appeared. Thus, when the Union forces at last determined to breach the defenses around the city, the morale of the defenders was not as high as it would have been if the interior cities and the state capital had given the heroic citizens of the port of Mobile credit for the exposed position they had occupied during most difficult times.

⁵² *Mobile Daily Tribune*, June 28, 1863.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Jones, *Diary*, II, 51.

⁵⁵ *O.R.*, Navies, Series I, 6, P. 185.

DIARY OF WILLIAM GRAFTON STEVENSON

CAPTAIN, C. S. A.*

Edited by Carl Rush Stevenson

Sunday—August 23rd 1863

On guard today as officer of the day, hence could not leave camp to go to preaching. I read several chapters in the Testament; wrote to S. C. G. and to Sallie Crawford; received a letter from May directed to Morton (Trip ?). Orders read at Dress Parade this evening to have two inspections a week & policing every morning.

Monday—August 24th

Drew money for Company for May & June, the (rolls?) amounted to 1033.96. Also drew 42 coats 19 pants shoes shirts & drawers. We are now well clad. The news from Charleston is bad; the enemy have succeeded in throwing some shells into the City. Ft Sumter is said to be in ruins. The Company has packed up a box to send home, filled with clothing. Received a letter from home from Lizzie. The Regt. made quite a show at Dress Parade in their Confederate uniforms.

Tuesday—August 25th

Wrote a letter to Lizzie before breakfast; sent off the box which the Company had packed yestrday. While on Battalion drill this evening a courier came and delivered orders to Col McMasters to have two days rations cooked & be ready to march to Savannah tomorrow morning by 5 o'clock. We all suppose we are going to Charleston but do not know positively. The men are all busy cooking. It is reported that the enemy are shelling Charleston vigorously. About bed time another order came for us not to move until further orders, but to be ready to move at a moments notice.

Wednesday—August 26

Orders came for us to move at 10 o'clock AM & it was (about 10 o'clock then?); tents & flies were immediately struck, baggage taken up to be put in waggon. As soon as we were ready to march, it commenced raining very hard & continued for an

* Original filed in Department of Archives and History.

hour. As soon as the rain cleared, the Regt started. We had a sloppy road but the Col rested us frequently, consequently were not much tired when we arrived at town. We were ordered to camp in rear of the Park. We went there & were just in the act of stacking arms when another order came for us to proceed to Depot, get on the cars. Just as we got to the cars it commenced raining very hard. Most of the men kept dry. I got wet attending to Trunk of provisions & my blankets. We had a jolly time, everybody was in fine spirits (some?) having taken an undue allowance of the latter. The train our Regt. was on started at 9 o'clock PM before any of the other Regt of the Brigade. I went to sleep & slept all night, consequently did not see anything on the road.

Thursday—August 27th

Woke up this morning just before we got to our old camp (Simons?). Our old training ground thereabouts looked very natural, vestiges of the camp are still visible. Mr. Glover, the gentleman at whose house I stayed when wounded, is still living at the same place. I saw him sitting in the Piazza, his daughters waved to us as we passed; they did not know it was our Regt. From here to the City, everything looked as natural as ever & we felt like we were nearer home. Arrived at Ft. Andrews Depot about 8 o'clock AM where we disembarked. Our Company was detailed to unload baggage. The Regt was formed near old Camp Lee, stacked arms and cooked. I went out to our old Parade ground, where we could see some of the effects of the Yankee's bombardment, the side we could see seemed to be demolished, the boom of cannon could be heard at regular intervals. Received a letter from home by Capt Woods; he also brought me \$125.00/ Capt Edwards Lt Logan & myself walked over to the City which we found almost deserted; it makes one feel sad to see so few citizens there. We went down on the Battery & saw our Batteries on James Island firing. We could see a shell explode once & awhile over what we took to be Battery Wagner. The Yankees took our rifle pits on Morris Island last night, they are now within 400 yds of Battery Wagner.

Friday—August 28th

Had a good nights rest & woke this morning greatly refreshed; shortly after we got breakfast waggons came over from the City for our baggage and we were ordered by the Col to get

ready as he intended to move the Regt, but concluded afterwards to await written orders. I wrote a letter to Maggie & then went to sleep. Soon after I woke up orders came for us to march to N.E. wharf & take the boat for Mt Pleasant. We crossed Ashley river on New bridge, went up (... .. nay?) street, turned to the right at King St. & then to the left & went down John St & then down Chapel St to the wharf. The whole Brigade marched thro' together; the boys were all full of life & were a little noisy. Several men from Co. C left during the night, also one from Co. K, several left the different Companies along the road, but Co. D came through all right. Their deportment has always been good & of a soldierly conduct. Since we have been in service there has never been one of the Company in the guard house or been convicted of any crime punishable by Court Martial; this is certainly praiseworthy. Their respect too for private property has been marked. Took the boat about 3½ o'clock P. M. & crossed Cooper river to Mt. Pleasant, while coming across we saw the Yankees shelling Battery Wagner. Just as we arrived at the Landing at Mt. Pleasant it commenced raining very hard. We got off the boat & sheltered ourselves under the shed of a Hotel which is now a Hospital, but did not get to remain under it long; the Regt was formed & the Col went off to see where to go, (hence?) we all got drenched. We then marched about half mile on the Georgetown road, halted, stacked arms, but we had no shelter & in fact no place to lie down except the road. The Col finally concluded to go back. On the way back, several men fell out & stopped in houses. The Regt halted under some trees, stacked arms & the Col told us to make ourselves as comfortable as possible. We consequently scattered & got in houses. I met up with an officer who was quartered in a house. He had a good supper prepared for us, which we did full justice to. After supper, he took the men upstairs & gave them a mattress & dry bed clothes to lie on. I lay in the Parlor & slept soundly although my clothes were perfectly wet.

Saturday—August 29th

Awoke this morning about day light, got up & left the house. Went to where the Regt stacked arms, washed my face, eat some salt meat & bread; the Col soon came down & we started on the march & went about two miles to Lucas' Mills, halted & stacked arms, and the men all spread out their Blankets & wet clothes, but the Col started us off again & we went about

half mile to some beautiful shade trees, where all again spread out our blankets. I lay down & took a good sleep. Our Trunk of provisions came up and we found the bottle of Black Pepper broken & pepper all over the sugar & meat.

Sunday—August 30th

Soon this morning the enemy commenced firing on Sumter. Capt B & myself got permission to go to the village and look on the bombardment. We got the Col's glass & could see the balls strike the Fort & some went entirely through. There is a terrible rent in the (?) through we could see light, the enemy continued the firing all day, our batteries did not reply except those on James Island. The Fleet lay off at a respectable distance, quiet spectators. We could see the Ironsides. After we had looked long enough we went & heard Mr. Girardeau preach. While he was preaching the firing was going on & we saw the shells bursting. Made application for two furloughs for the Company. Wrote to Pa; received letter from Dan'l. Will have a muster tomorrow for July & August. Saw one of my old classmates, Nettles, while at Mt. Pleasant.

Monday—August 31st

Got up early & went to work on the Muster Rolls, finished two before breakfast, the mustering officer did not come until late in the evening. A detail of (five?) men was made up from our Rgt to put up telegraph posts, the authorities having determined to run a line from Sullivan's Island to Charleston. Last night when the 20th (?) and the 23rd Ga were returning from Morris Island, having been relieved, our guns on Ft. Moultrie opened on the boat & sunk it; 160 men were missing from 20th Rgt this morning. It is said the Boat did not signal as she passed the Ft. It was a serious and melancholy accident. The gunboats moved up today & fired at Battery Gregg & Ft Moultrie, but done no damage. They were struck several times & it became too hot for them & finally drew off. Applied for Furlough for (Jesse McWalters?). Drew \$100.00 or James Wallace, being money due him for services rendered the Confederacy. We are ordered to start at daylight tomorrow morning, & march about six miles to cut timber in front of the Breastworks on Georgetown road. The firing in the harbor continued all day.

Tuesday—Sept 1st

Our Regt started to the fortifications early this morning. I did not go, remained behind to finish the payrolls of the Company. The men had nothing to eat, but crackers to eat; came back about 3 o'clock PM, there being no tools to work with.

Wednesday—Sept 2nd

Segt (Myrie?) & Bob Banks came in last night. Banks brought a box & shared it with us. Capt B. also received a trunk of provisions; he went over to the City today. Court Martial convened today to try such cases as may be brought before it. Wrote to Mary. Very little firing today. The rations are very slim, the men have had no meat to eat since day before yesterday. They drew bacon & rice today & eat it all up at one (meal?). I bought bushel Potatoes for Company.

Thursday—Sept 3rd

Got my uniform which fitted me very neatly. Had nice white cabbage for dinner. Lt Carlisle came over this morning & went back this evening, taking his Trunk with him. At Dress Parade this evening the findings & sentences of the Regimental Court Martial were read out; one Gillam was sentenced to be confined in Guard House 6 days, his diet restricted to bread & water, to forfeit one month's pay & to stand on head of barrel one hour each day for 6 days. Adjt Conner & myself rode over to Mt. Pleasant after night to see the shelling. There was however very little firing, it being mostly from Shell Point Battery on James Island; we returned & met the Col. Maj & Capt Means going over too, but we told them it would not pay, & we all came back to Camp together.

Friday—Sept 4th

Officer of the day today. No news of interest. Court Martial convened again today for trial of Private Lanier who was charged with sleeping on Post & Drunkenness—found guilty—sentenced to ten days confinement & hard labor to dig well at Guard House. Private Gillam stands on head on barrel each day—one hour at time. Capt Woods called to see us this morning. All quiet in the Harbor & on Morris Island.

Saturday—Sept 5th

A spirited cannonading Kept up last night all night & continues this morning, slackened about 9 o'clock A. M. Bob Banks

& myself got permission to go to (landing?) at Mount Pleasant; about 10 o'clock the Ironsides moved up & commenced shelling Battery Wagner furiously throwing an occasional shell at Gregg, the enemy's land Batteries on Morris Island also shell Wagner, the firing was very rapid & heavy, we could distinctly see where every shell exploded & the dust fly up in perfect volumes from Battery Wagner. One of the Monitors also fired one shot, but drew off. None of our batteries replied except once or twice from Moultrie & an occasional shell from Shell Point Battery on James Island. Bob & myself left about 12 o'clock the firing having slackened somewhat, but in the evening it was renewed with vigor & continued until night when it again slackened. After supper Captain Edwards & myself walked over to the village & could see the enemy throwing shells into Battery Wagner from mortars; we could see the flash of the gun, then the shell would go straight up & fall into the fort. We did not remain long. Orders came for us to march to Breastworks at daylight tomorrow to throw up (works?). At Dress Parade another Court Martial was ordered. I am on Court; to convene Monday.

Sunday—Sept 6th

A furious cannonading kept up all night last night. We left camp early this morning & marched some four or five miles to the works & found no one there to tell us what to do. We are waiting for someone to come & direct us. The Yankee Monitors & Ironsides are firing vigorously this morning at our Batteries on Morris Island. The Engineers came soon after we arrived. The Regt was divided off into two reliefs of 100 men each & we set in to work manfully, each relief works an hour at a time. Capt B & myself were invited to dinner by a gentleman who is manufacturing salt; the dinner was nothing extra, we got a drink of good rum which sharpened our appetites. After dinner he (Mr Long, for that was his name) showed us his salt works, the water is strongly impregnated with salt, it is pumped from wells dug on the beach which has been infiltrating salt from time immemorial; the salt made crystallizes beautifully. After we had satisfied ourselves with examining the works we returned to the Regt. Mr. Long insisted on us letting him know the next time we came & he would prepare for us a good dinner. We worked until (?) o'clock PM when we grounded spades & left. My hands were blistered in several

places. On our return to camp, we came a different road from the one we went, & got lost for a little while, but finally came out right. I found a letter for me, from May. It is reported that the enemy landed in the (rear?) of our works on Morris Island & made an assault but were repulsed with heavy loss. We sunk several of the Barges in which they landed, our loss said to be 160.

Monday—Sept 7th

Last night Morris Island was evacuated by our forces, the heavy bombardment to which Wagner & Gregg had been subjected made terrible rents in the above named Morris & it continued so our men could not repair damage. The heroic endurance of our soldirs will excite the admiration of future generations. I went up to Mt Pleasant this evening & found women & children coming in perfect swarms from Sullivan's Island. It is reported the Yankees have said they would not shell it until 8 o'clock tomorrow but about Sundown this evening their Gunboats moved up & opened a terrific fire. Our Batteries replied manfully. It continued for about an hour; the result not known. About 8 o'clock PM orders came to our Regt for us to repair at once to the Bridge connecting Sullivan's Island with Mt. Pleasant & protect it. No shelling from the enemy, so we passed the night in quiet. Our men shelled Morris Island all night.

Tuesday—Sept. 8th

At daylight this morning the Regt was taken off the Bridge leaving a few behind who left in about an hour. We then marched back to town, sleepy & tired. (L.....?) & Wallace soon prepared breakfast. After breakfast I took the Company out & fired off the guns, came back & went to sleep. Was awakened by heavy firing in the Harbor, which provd to be the enemy firing on Moultrie, Battery (Bee?) & C on Sullivan's Island. It continued until about 12 or 1 o'clock, when the vessels withdrew. The damage inflicted on our side slight, some shells were exploded (our own) which killed several; a few houses were fired by incendiary shells. The Bridge on which we picketed last night was shelled furiously. The extent of injury on the vessels not known but supposed to have disabled a Monitor & the Ironsides is thought to have suffered. One thing certain they kept very quiet in the evening & a considerable stir was apparent among them. I was on a board of survey to condemn some spoil-

ed Beeff, 2300 lbs. Bought seven chickens at \$1.50 a piece. Sent off trunk to Charleston to be shipped home. No meat rations today for the men.

Wednesday—Sept 9th

This morning was ushered in with good news our men having signally repulsed an attempt of the enemy to storm Ft. Sumter in Barges; the fire of cannon & small arms was terrific. Several Barges were sunk & 102 privates & 19 officers were captured. The Killed & wounded is thought to be great; our loss small. Who would have thought that Infantry would be called upon to defend the noble old Ft after it proved not to be able to stand the heaviest cannon which the enemy could bring against it. Everything is remarkably quiet in the harbor today. Scarcely a gun to remind us of the momentous issue at stake. Our usual drills & rolls calls were resumed today. Made application for leave of absence for 48 hours to visit Mr. Glovers who was so Kind to me when wounded. One of the chickens I bought yesterday was found dead this morning. I ordered Wallace to bury it with the honor of war.

Thursday—Sept 10th

Unusual quiet & stillness reigns. The enemy's Gunboats lie off at a respectable distance. Wrote a letter to Lizzie in which I sent a shell ring to (Nanette?). We are ordered to proceed to Bonneau's & throw up earth wrks. Orders read at Dress Parade for each Commander to inspect his Company before going out to Dress Parade & to form the line at the double quick. Rev. Mr. Hawkins preached for us tonight, & got up some excitement, several signified a desire to be prayed for, none joined the church as the invitation was only extended to those who wished to attach themselves to Baptist Church.

Friday—Sept 11th

Started on working expedition about sunrise this morning. Waited some time before the Engineer came. When he did come we went to work, left at 4 o'clock & came back to camp. The soldiers are buying & sending home salt but transportation will not be furnished now, as troops are being transported over the road. Reported that the Big Gun is bursted.

Saturday—Sept 12th

Tom (Lyles?), an old college mate came to our camp this

morning. He is in the Quarter Master's dep of 20th Regt. Went in bathing this evening. The boys drew some pickled meat which they swear is "mule" & will not eat it. I eat some of it & think it Beef. All quiet in the Harbor.

Sunday—Sept 13th

Went to hear Rev. Girardeau preach, while at 23rd called on Capt Woods & heard the Furlough system would be commenced again. Met up with White an old college friend. Returned to camp & sure enough orders had come for furloughs, two to each Company. I immediately wrote out two for our Company & one for myself. Mr Girardeau preached for our Regt this evening. Timmerman an old college mate came to our camp this evening. We have orders to guard the Bridge tonight, left camp about 7 o'clock P. M. Received letter from Lizzie & Maggie. While on the Bridge the wind blew furiously. "Darkness sat brooding upon the deep, the heavens thundered, the lightning glared, all things threatened instant death to the men."

Monday—Sept 14th

Left the Bridge about daylight & came back to camp. Fired off guns & eat Breakfast as soon as it was prepared. Drew some ordnance stores such as 3 canteens 5 Haversacks, 4 Knapsacks, 9 Guns, 10 waist Belts, 9 Cartridge Boxes, 9 Shoulder straps & 10 Bayonets Scabbards & 9 Bayonets and 1280 cartridges cal 69 & 160 cartridges cal 58 & caps. Turned over 1 Gun, & Bayonet 2 Knapsacks, 1 waist Belt & Bayonet scabbard &—cartridges cal 69 &—catr cal 58 & caps. A Baptist preacher from Barnwell preached for us tonight. One man was restored to Church, several were prayed for.

Tuesday—Sept 15th

Officer of the day today. No news of interest to record.

Wednesday—Sept 16th

After Guard Mounting Bab Banks & myself went down to Mt Pleasant to meet Pa, staid there sometime, but he did not come. We came back & soon after we arrived we heard Ben (Corden?) had come with several Boxes for our Company. John Robertson took the waggon & went after them. He brought a Box for me & also a letter from Lizzie & a few lines from Pa explaining why he did not come. We have orders to work on fortifications tomorrow. We also received orders that a general inspection would take place today by Genl Ripley, but he

did not come, but sent another order that the inspections would take place to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock. I did not go to bed untill late. Sat up talking with Major Culp & Adjt Conner.

Thursday—Sept 17th

Had a terrible time of it last night, it rained in perfect torrents, the wind blew furiously, our "fly" was but a poor protection, the water stood in puddles at our feet. Lt. Cornwell & Alex & Billie Beaty could not stand it, got up & dressed. Capt B & myself stood it very philosophically, drew up our feet, covered our heads, said nothing, but our actions implied "let it rain". Just at first dawn of day, Capt B "poked" out his head & said "Billy, lets get up", we did so & found our shoes and Hats full of water. Several of the Company sat up nearly all the time, eating from the Boxes they had just received; they passed the time merrily singing, laughing & trying to cook but the rain "outed" the fire as soon as built but Tom Rattine however was indefatigable in his efforts to make some coffee, & finally succeeded about daylight. The Comapny, upon the whole fared better than we did, having a splendid & commodious "Bell" Tent & also Wall tent & a "fly". The rain continued all days, consequently we did not work, & had an inspection. Everything in my Trunk got wet, several of Company Books ruined. Our blankets are all wet, hence we will have an uncomfortable nights rest. I went in the "Bell" tent & slept several hours today. I do hope the Yankee fleet may be blown to piece. Wallace is complaining today.

Friday—Sept 18th

Went on working expedition today. The roads were full of water & we all got wet in going there: the framework of the Magazine was put up today, the boys all work well. Soon after our return to camp the Furloughs came back all approved except Capt Steeles' & mine.

Saturday—Sept 19th

All the Furloughed men are jubilant this morning: every feature expressive of joy and pleasure. I took up the Furloughs of mine which came back disapproved, but could carry them no farther than Col Benbow's Headquarters. I came back & went to sleep, woke up & found Mr. Eli Dawkins had come. Lt Logan

& myself walked up town & looked at the Yankee Batteries on Morris Island firing at Battery (Simkins?) on James Island: on our return to camp we met Harper the waggon driver, who had Lt. Logan's trunk, & said that his (Lt Logan) furlough had come back approved, with a shout which alarmed the women & children in the neighborhood he bounced in the waggon & off he went, the last I heard or saw was him still hollowing. I felt sad & gloomy, & greatly disappointed, for I had sent up an application too & mine had not come. Ordered to guard the Bridge connecting with Sullivan's Island.

Sunday—Sept 20th

The wind blew bitter cold last night. I like to have froze, tried very hard to sleep but could not; marched off at about day-light at a double quick in order to warm up, got to camp, eat breakfast & lay down & went to sleep & slept until about 11 o'clock. When I awoke got dinner. Knocked about until 3 o'clock P. M. & went to hear Mr. (Gamiois?) preach in Capt. Mills Company. After supper the "Soldiers Christian Association" met for the first time though organized in Mississippi. The Furloughs I had sent up for Corpl Casey & Private Corder came back today approved & they went off soon as they came. Mine did not come back.

Monday—Sept 21st, 1863

The large "Bell" tent to which I alluded in some previous day, was taken away from us this evening; it belonged to Genl Evans & he sent for it. We will fare poorly now when it rains & the weather is becoming a little cool & frosty & plainly announces that summer is at an end. Maj Culp & Adjt Conner & myself walked up to the Wharf this evening. Our Batteries were throwing shells pretty rapidly on Morris Island. We could see the Yankees mount the & fortifications at every flash of the gun they hid, but as soon as the shells bursted they were up again; on our return Conner & myself stopped at Col Benbow's Headquarters to see if there was not some mistake in the orders for us to go to work tomorrow but found it was all right; we stopped & had a short conversation with Tom Lyles & Mr. Wanamaker of the 20th (?). When we got back to camp the Companies were forming for Dress Parade. Received a letter from

Miss Sallie C. (G.....?)* of Ala. Mr. Hawkins preached for us this evening & (Leroy?) Johnston of our Company joined the Church.

Tuesday—Sept 22nd

The Regt went to the fortifications to work. Capt. Edwards & myself went over to the City. I went to meet Pa, but he did not come or rather I did not see him. We returned on the 6 o'clock boat. I met Tom Gibson who had been over with the Company during my absence. The news from the West is very encouraging & hopeful. We should be thankful for such a victory. While in the City I had my photograph taken.

Wednesday—Sept 23rd

Several of us walked up to the landing to buy a paper; Beauregard has ordered a salute to be fired in honor of the glorious victory in the West. Ft Sumter joined the chorus to our great surprise. I wrote to Sallie C. (G.....?) this afternoon. My application for leave of absence came back disapproved. Orders to go on Bridge tonight; left camp about dark & when we got to the Bridge, the Col put only two Companies on the Bridge at a time, each to stand two hours, but our Company & Capt Steeles' staid much longer than two hours on account of some misunderstanding.

Thursday—Sept 24th

On our return to camp from the Bridge this morning I

* The reference is to Miss Sallie C. Gibson, my grandmother, whom he married after the war. Apparently, at this time he thought her name was "Greenlow." When he had passed through Franklin, Alabama, on a troop train after (apparently) campaigning in Mississippi, some girls, among whom was Sarah Catherine Gibson, brought flowers to the troops. He received her bouquet in which she had left a note signed "Sallie C. Greenlow". He corresponded with her under that name. After the war, he returned to Franklin and established her true identity. They became engaged and he returned to South Carolina. Her father, before consenting to the marriage, sent her brother, Allen, to Chester County, South Carolina, to find out what he could about the Stevenson family. Captain Stevenson had not met Allen Gibson. The latter met and became acquainted with the Stevensons under an assumed name. After Allen's departure from South Carolina, Captain Stevenson's sister voiced the belief, judging by the similarity of his features to those in a photograph of Sallie C. Gibson, that Allen was her brother. Captain Stevenson, realizing the truth, thereupon immediately returned to Alabama. Their marriage was the result. Captain Stevenson died in 1910 at Notasulga. Sallie Gibson Stevenson died in 1927 in Notasulga. They are both buried in the Stevenson lot in the Tuskegee cemetery.

called at the negro camp & saw Glasgow Anderson & Frank, who have been sent down to work on fortifications. Officer of the day today. Wrote a letter to Lizzie, saw Maj Rian at Col's Quarters. The Company has been busy for the last day or two in erecting "shanties" made of pine poles & (dirt?) which will protect them from the inclemencies of the weather. We have praying nearly every night now conducted by different ones. Rev Mr. Hawkins officiates the most: his labors have been blest with the conversion or rather the joining of Church of several; the yare to be baptized today at 9 o'clock A.M. Great interest is being manifest. The whole Regt generally attends.

Friday—Sept 25th

Several of our Regt was immersed this morning, having made an open profession of religion, among the number was L. Johnston of our Company. Orders to go to work tomorrow.

Saturday—Sept 26th

Left camp this morning about sun-rise. A detachment of four Companies were sent to the "lines" to fell timber. Our Company was among the detachment; the balance of the Regt went to the Battery at Bonneau's. Our detachment was under command of Capt Steele, marched about 5 miles to a church where we found the Breastwork the detachment was divided into three reliefs of 24 men each. The woods soon echoed with the (?) of the axes. We left about 3 o'clock P.M. & arrived at camp a little before sundown.

Sunday—Sept 27th

Rev. John Douglass preached for us this morning. While he was preaching Mr. Banks came up; also several of the "old reserves" among whom were E. Gladden, Lovie Ingram & Mr. Peden. Lovie & Mr. Gladden took dinner with us, also Mr. Peden. We felt quite at home among our old friends & acquaintances. In the evening Mr. Banks preached for us a short sermon; the old reserves left during the sermon on account of the Boat leaving before the services would be over. Mr. Gladden did not however get over, for when they got to the wharf the regular Steamer had left & their only chance was to go over in a small row boat & he, with several others would not risk it; he came back &

staid with Billie Beaty all night, the balance of us having to go with the Regt on Picket at Bridge. Frank, one of Pa's boys sent down to work came into our camp today & says all the rest are well.

Monday—Sept 28th

O Nickles, J. Brown & A. Morrison came into our camp this morning & are looking well. Our stay on Bridge was much more pleasant last night than some of the previous nights. A court martial is ordered to convene to-morrow for trial of such cases as may be brought before it. A. G. Black unfortunately sat down on his post while acting as Sentinel & the Corporal supposed him sleeping & reported him: he was sick. Hugh Big-ham, a member of Co. A died yesterday morning at Regimental Hospital in Mount Pleasant. Rev Mr Banks left our camp this morning. I sent a letter home by him. There will be an election tomorrow for Tax Collector for Chester Dist.

Tuesday—Sept 29th

Pursuant to notice an election was held in the Regt for Tax Collector for Chester Dist. Capt Edwards & myself managed the election; 57 votes were polled, McFadden received 33 of them. We went up to the Hospital in order to receive some votes there who were unable to come to camp. I remained untill nearly Sundown. We are ordered to move & camp on Beach near the Battery at Bonneau & to fill requisitions for labor made by (Lieut?) White, Engineer in charge; the orders were to move to-day, but Col Benbow agreed to postpone it untill tomorrow provided we would work & move the same day, to which the Col agreed. A. G. Black was tried today & found guilty & sentenced to 3 days confinement in Guard house. Received a letter from Cousin Lizzie. I understand that Genl Evan's trial will commence to-morrow. I do not know the charges against him.

Wednesday—Sept 30th

At 7 o'clock AM, the Regt was formed & moved off, having left behind a sufficient guard to attend to our Baggage; we went down the Georgtown about 5 miles near the church at the lines, where we halted & awaited untill the waggons came up with the axes. Soon after we commenced chopping. I unfortunately got cut by an axe flying off and striking my leg near the

ankle. Capt B loaned me his horse & I rode with the Col to the camp which had been selected the day previous. When I got to camp my leg was hurting me a good deal. I lay about untill night, the place becoming sorer & sorer. Received a letter from Lizzie.

Thursday—Oct 1st

My leg pretty sore this morning. Cannot get about much. A detail of 130 men sent to work on fortifications. A pretty heavy rain fell last night & we were illy prepared for it. No news; the enemy opened again on Sumter from land Batteries on Morris Island. Wrote to Lizzie.

Friday—Oct 2nd

Have concluded to apply for a short leave of absence, but did not get to send it up to-day. The wound on my leg very painful.

Saturday—Oct 3rd

Sent up my application for leave of absence for 15 days. Capt. B went to town this morning. I am getting worn out doing nothing though I consume time in sleeping & reading Shakespeare.

Sunday—Oct 4th

A partial supply of hymn books, Testaments & religious tracts was furnished our Regt this morning by Catholic & Mt. Pleasant congregations through Mr Banks; the Testaments are a beautiful English book & the hymn books just as such as we need. Alex Banks preached for us this evening. D. Brown formerly of our Company, came over to see us. Corpl (Cusy?) & D. Corder came in to-day & brought several boxes for the Company, one for E. Cornwell; they both are looking well & deserve praise for the promptness with which they reported to their Company. Wallace is improving but slow. Orders for an inspection to-morrow by one of Genl Beauregard's aid, Capt Filding.

Monday—Oct 5th

The inspection came off at 10 o'clock AM; it was searching & rigid; the inspecting officer is an Englishman who has not

been over here long. Drew one month's pay (September) from Capt. Means. A lot of pants were issued to the Regt today & two Blankets to our Company which was a source of great contention who should have, there being some ten or twelve who said they had none. The camp at night echoed with the songs of praise to God, all having *new books*.

Tuesday—Oct 6th

Inexpressible delight! My furlough has come back approved. It however came too late for me to start this evening; what shall I do 'till morning! Oh! How impatient I am to get away & once more see my old home. I have made all arrangements to start early in the morning & hope nothing will interfere with me. I don't think I will sleep tonight.

Wednesday—Oct 7th

After a good nights rest which was not anticipated I woke about daylight, got up, eat breakfast, bid all "good bye" & left. I wanted to get Mt Pleasant time enough to take 8 o'clock boat, but we had a heavy load on the waggon & did not arrive in time. I spent the time very pleasantly in looking through my "Spy glass" at the Yankees on Morris Island. They were out in large force and seemed to be busy working on Battery Wagner & did not seem to pay much attention to our guns which threw an occasional shell among them. About 10 o'clock the boat left & soon landed in the City. I got all my Boxes & trunk off being assisted by A. McWalters who came over with me. I sent my trunk & boxes to the Depot under charge of Wallace who will remain with them untill I go down. I stopped & went to see the reserves. Found A. Nickles sick, being afflicted with neuralgia. All the rest were well; took dinner with O. Brown's mess being kindly invited by Lovie Ingram to take dinner with him, but had previously promised Brown. After dinner the Company was paraded & marched up Street where each one was furnished with gun. O. Brown went with me to buy a hat, but the price was so high I did not buy. We went down to (Broad?) St where I got Provost Marshal pass out of the City & we came back to where the reserves were stationed & supper was hurried up on my account; I eat with Capt Gill; after supper I left for the Depot; Arrived there in due time & found Wallace & all my things. E. Gladden & J. Brown walked with me down to the

Depot & assisted me in getting my boxes aboard. I got a good seat by myself, but I wanted to sleep so I lay down on the floor & slept soundly.

Thursday—Oct 8

Woke up this morning & found the cars had stopped & the Engine gone, having been injured; we will consequently miss connections at Columbia which is about 28 miles from where we are. The place where we broke down is Fort Motte which was once the scene of blood and death between Americans & British, some vestiges still remain. A little after sun up an engine came down for us & started with us, but did not go more than two hundred yards before we met the down passenger train, which caused us to back about 3 miles to a Turn out. In this backing (Spell?) the old Engine broke, so we were worse off than before because we were not as near Columbia. The passengers all seem to take it patiently. I succeeded in getting something to eat from an old negro woman on the cars. About 1 o'clock PM another engine came & was welcomed with shouts: Arrived at Columbia about 4½ P. M. I went thro' the City & stopped at (Nele Marks?). Went to Charlotte Depot & found all my baggage in; when the train from the junction came up I heard Capt (Beatcham?) was on it severely wounded. Assisted in getting him on the train, could find no seat for myself. Stood up nearly all the way to Winnsboro, where I got supper. Arrived at Blackstock about 1 o'clock in the night where fortunately for me Lumpkin gave me his horse & I rode home leaving my baggage & Wallace behind with intention of sending for him tomorrow. Got home about day-light, woke up Pa & all the family; did not go to sleep.

Thursday—Oct 22nd

After 15 days absence I this day left home to join my Regt which has moved during my absence to James Island. The time I spent at home was pleasant & I regretted very much to leave. I have under my charge several Boxes & two boys. On the way out to Blackstocks stopped at Uncle Williams who gave me a Bottle of Splendid Peach Brandy, also at Robt Caldwells. At Blackstocks saw Miss Fannie Douglass & had a pleasant conversation with her. The young Lady who treated Zebulon Mobly so kindly when wounded at (Dramsville?) was aboard. Zeb got

on the cars & went as far as Columbia with her. Saw some of my old Friends at Ridgway. Arrived at Columbia about 5 o'clock P.M: did not succeed in getting my boxes aboard, remained over at the junction with several Soldiers, but finally concluded to walk up to town & procure quarters. Went around and called on Dr Edmonds, where I found Miss Janie McGregor & two Misses Smith. Spent a very pleasant time indeed. Dr Edmonds & his wife insisted on me staying all night which I did.

Friday—Oct 23rd

About 5 o'clock this morning I was awoke & found the Dr had horse & buggy to carry me to Depot. Arrived there in due time, got a seat, got my Boxes on at the junction without any difficulty. Amused myself by reading the proceedings of Court Martial in case of Col McMaster, which had been given me by the Dr. Arrived at Branchville about 11 o'clock A. M. where while waiting for the Augusta train, I bought a cup of pure coffee, some chickens, eggs & bread for \$1.50; also bought some smoking tobacco. Left Branchville about 2 o'clock & run very slow, about 3 or 400 yds north Summerville one of the brakes on the Engine broke but did not detain us long, soon started again, & (? ? ?). I saw Lovie Ingram & threw out his Bundle & shoes for Mr. Brown, also letters; at the depot the train stopped & Lovie & several of my acquaintances came up & shook hands, but had no time to talk; arrived at Charleston about 8 o'clock P. M., got all my boxes out safe except Mylie's which I had forgot to bring out of the cars. As soon as I got my boxes placed in a safe place, I left them under charge of my boys & walked up to Charleston Hotel, where I got lodging for night by paying two dollars.

Saturday—Oct 24th

Woke this morning much refreshed, got up, dressed & went down, bought morning paper, just then the bells rang for breakfast, bought a Ticket for \$3.00, went into dining room, got a poor breakfast, came out & found Alex Ellerbe, an old college friend who I had not seen since I left college, talked over old matters, made inquiries of other of our friends, gave him a copy of Col Mc trial, walked down to Provost Marshall's office, got passport—then walked down to Depot where I left my boxes—found John Robertson with waggon—started off to Camp, but

had to wait for some men who was going with us. A slow rain commenced falling, while waiting Col Mc & Capt Means came up & spoke to me, soon we started & the rain fell heavy & wind blew hard. We stopped in some houses, untill it moderated, again started & arrived at Camp about 2 o'clock, where I found all the Company well. I was glad to see them so lively & cheerful. I was not here long before I found out the duty was very onerous, about half the Regt detailed each day for guard & Picket. All the different packages I had charge of were delivered.

Sunday—Oct 25th

Preaching this morning by our Chaplain Rev Mr. Carothers; discourse on divine providence, he also preached in the evening but I did not hear him. The Yankee tents are plainly visible to the naked eye & with a glass one can see what they are doing. Battery Wagner & Gregg too can be seen better here than at Mt Pleasant, also the Battered side of Ft Sumter. The Regular firing from our Batteries Keep up & the enemy acknowledge the Killing & wounding of 4 each day on an average. The Yankee Batteries seem to be about complete & we all expect them soon to commence operations.

Monday—Oct 26th

Everything was unusual quiet this morning, the wind blew bitter cold, the sky was overshadowed with clouds; about 10 o'clock (so says the Paper) Batteries Gregg & Wagner broke the deep silence by opening on Sumter & Ft Johnston. We did not observe it untill about 1 o'clock; the firing was very accurate, great volumes of dust was raised each time a ball struck Sumter. Two Monitors moved up & joined the chorus with their deep mounted guns. About dark the firing ceased on both sides. During the firing the Island was covered with Yankees.

Sunday—Nov. 15th

A bright & beautiful mornign. For the last week or two I have lost sight of my Diary & I am now unable from memory to fill up the interval. The last day I recorded was the commencement of the bombardment of Sumter from Gregg & Wagner. It has continued from that time up to the present, both at night & day time. Sometimes it would slacken in its fury,

but soon they would open with new energy & ferocity; the walls of Sumter have yielded to such an incessant firing. The Morris Island & Sea face is on chaotic mass of ruins, yet the papers tell us it has been reduced to such a point that every shot fired now only (tends?) to strengthen it. There would seem to be some truth in the assertion, for Sumter, though robbed of her beauty, laid low in the dust, yet she still stands—a terror to the enemy & the pride of our State. Several men have been Killed & wounded by Mortar shells, but more by the falling in of the Barracks. The enemy's Iron Clads have taken a conspicuous part in the fight. Four Companies of our REGT was sent to Sumter last week. I do not know whether they have been relieved or not as I came over to Hospital. Pa came down to see me. Arrived in Camp on last Saturday a week ago. He left Sunday evening & went to (Pocataligo?) to try & get J. L. Brown off home who was very sick from Typhoid fever, but he had gone before Pa got there. Pa stopped as he came back, went out to camp & found I had come to Hospital, he came back & called in that evening. Billie Beaty & John Robertson were at the same hospital I went to, they both got Furloughs of thirty days on last Thursday & went home in company with Pa. I was left then by myself. I felt pretty lonely for the first day or two but have made one or two acquaintances which (?) the monotony somewhat. Dr Huges is the Surgeon in charge, he is a kind hearted gentleman. I am very pleased with him. The Ladies pay regular visits each day with refreshments for the sick. A young man from Virginia died in the room in which I am this morning about sun-rise. Mr (Varn?) the mail carrier for the Rgt brought me a letter from May, also one from Capt Beaty in which was enclosed \$80.00 the amt due me for October. There was also information in it to the effect that one man in Co K has been Killed in Ft Sumter. In the room adjoining mine is a very sick soldier who is delirious from fever, he cuts up some fancy tricks now & then. The nurse has had what they call a Straight Jacket put on him, which prevents him from using his arms & stooping down. I amuse myself in reading tracts which the Ladies send to Hospital, also Capt Cook's voyages to the Pacific Ocean. Towards evening the weather became quite chilly & a fire would have been agreeable but none was built in our room.

Monday—Nov 16th

I did not rest well last night, had strange dreams all night. Before I got up the newsboy came & I bought papers & read the news in bed; after I had finished reading paper I got up, washed & felt much better. I am now ready for my breakfast. The Board of Examiners meet today to grant Furloughs. The firing this morning is somewhat more spirited & rapid. I ate pretty heartily of Fish & soft boiled Eggs & nice hominy—afraid I overdone the thing. Our Batteries on Sullivans Island are firing very heavily on three Monitors, two of which are replying & the other firing at the Sea Face of Sumter. Got permission from Dr Huges to walk up King St a short distance to make some purchases. Met Capt Steele, who said the Yankees had shell Secessionville furiously that morning; bought me a Pipe & smoking Tobacco, also two books "The Actress in High Life" & "Robert & Harold or the (Marooners?)" on my return I felt very much fatigued & worried. As soon as I got back to Hospital went to my room & lay down & commenced reading Robert & Harold which did not make a very favorable impression at first.

Tuesday—Nov 17th

There is now no one in my room but myself, except at night. The Yankees are shelling the City this morning & it is reported here that they have fired one or two houses. I do not apprehend any danger here for this house is in the most N. E. portion of the City; strange to say we cannot hear the explosion of the Shells. The mail carrier brought me in two letters this morning, one from Cousin Lizzie, the other from Lizzie. The enemy made an ineffectual attempt to shell the City but did no damage. Finished reading Robert & Harold—not well pleased with it.

Wednesday—Nov 18th

Felt some better this morning though weak yet & dull. Dr Huges told me this morning he would try to get me off to-morrow, in consequence got permission to go up town to see some one from Regt to send word to Capt B to send Jake over in the morning. I met up with an opportunity. The young man who went up town with me loaned me a Book to read, "Camille" by Dumas. Did not rest well in the night.

Thursday—Nov 19th

Finished reading "Camille". I think I am improving very slowly indeed. This is Thanksgiving day in the City. Dr Huges will recommend me before Board of Furlough. Capt B & Maj Culp called on me this morning; did not stay long. Jake came with his things. The Yankees are shelling the City again to-day, great confusion in the City (said to be). One lady with a Baby & a little girl have come up here to get out of range. I went before the Medical Board, but on examination they recommended me to remain under treatment, said if I went home I would not get proper *attention*! What fools! Though I could not get off I concluded to send Jake, he got Strother Ford to arrange his papers & started last night. Strother came round to see me this evening & promised to come round to-morrow in a Spring Waggon & take me out in the City. I saw Dr. Huges this evening, he does not like it at all about the Board not giving me Furlough but says it cannot be helped. Wrote to Lizzie & Jake. Received letter from Lizzie today. No injury from shells in the City. One struck the guard house but fortunately no one was in the room at time.

Friday—Nov 20th

I can see but little change in my health. I improve very slowly indeed. The Dr has renewed by Bottle of Medicine (Ferri? Chloride). Strother very kindly came round in a new little spring waggon & invited me to ride around town, as I thought it might be beneficial, I assented and had a pleasant ride, just got back in time for Lunch. He also brought me a letter from Maggie. Last night the Yankees came near Ft Sumter & commenced firing small arms. We replied from the Fort. When they withdrew there was no regular assault. A few harmless shells were thrown into the City this morning. Also a few shells this evening. I watched the Yankees as they were firing into the City. Could distinguish by flash of gun which one threw the shells.

Saturday—nov 21st

Did not rest well last couldn't sleep, got up several times & walked about. My wound hurt me a little. Spent most of the day in reading Memoirs of Josephine. The Dr told me to-day to stir about, walk up town every day; he thought it would be

beneficial to me. The Yankees threw shells into the City off & on all day. Said to have Killed one negro Woman. Bought some fish this evening. The shells flew so close to the house of the Sisters of Charity that they became frightened & Dr Huges gave them permission to occupy a room in Hospital.

Sunday—Nov 22nd, 63

Rested tolerably well last. Feel some better this morning. Early this morning a man wounded at Ft Sumter last night came in, his wound is slight. No lunch today. The Yankees still persist in effort to reduce Sumter, but all ineffectual.

Monday—Nov 23rd

The Board met this morning, but some disagreement caused them to adjourn untill to-morrow. Dr Huges intends sending me before them again. Cloudy & rainy.

Tuesday—Nov 24th

I went before Board this morning & they granted me 30 days leave of absence and I walked up town & got dinner. Left for home. Had to leave trunk behind.

Dec. 25th 1863

After 30 days absence I this morning left home. The time I spent at home was pleasant "in extreme"—was lothed to leave—arrived at Blackstocks just in time—15 minutes later & I would have been left. At Blackstocks found a great many negros who were spending their Christmas on train; they seemed to be the only ones enjoying themselves. Very few persons aboard the cars. At Winnsboro a great number of negros at R. R. & the town seemed to be filled with them. At Columbia I hired a cart & drove to Charleston Depot & got my boxes aboard without any difficulty. At Kingsville heard the Yankees had thrown 300 shells into the City & burned several houses. Arrived at Charleston about daylight.

Dec 26th

Very cold—Had no fire to go to—"froze it out" until good daylight—then Wallace & myself gathered up our Baggage & walked up to Wayside Home. I went in & registered & sat down

to Breakfast of cold beef & hominy—did not eat much. After breakfast went down to Pavillon Hotel & then to Reid St to see S. Ford. Did not find him, went up to (A.....?) St to get my boxes. While there S. Ford came up & offered a waggon to haul them to wharf—said he would come up to Wayside House in waggon & take me down. Wallace & myself are now waiting for him. I have (Brought?) everything straight so far. Arrived at Camp on Sullivan's Island on 26th December.

28th Dec. Alarm! All out at breastworks; I am acting as Adj.
Jan. 1st 1864 Friday

New Year was ushered in by a cold windy day; the winds blew very hard. Sergt Black started home today on 20 day Furlough. I sent Wallace with him.

Jan. 2nd. Last night was a terrible night; some of the guard had to be sent to quarters to Keep from freezing.

Jan 8th. Went to Long Island in company with Maj Culp, Capt Avery & Lt McConnell. We had some difficulty in crossing the Strait between Sullivan's and Long Island. The current was so swift we came near being carried by force out to set, the waves were rolling *Mountain* high, the excitement at one time was intense but Capt Avery & Lt McConnell worked the oars lustily, we finally laned safe on Long Island, & then could laugh at each others fears & expressions. After we had secured our boat on the beach, we started up the Beach in search of Shells; we gathered a great many & of different variety. We saw the wrecks of several blockade runners, one very large vessel & any amount of iron on (her?). After we tired gathering shells we went out from the beach to the wood-land part of the Island; we found it to be almost impenetrable wilderness of Palmetto & dwarf live oak. The scenery was in some parts fearfully wild & truly grand; it would be a delightful place to stroll with young ladies who could appreciate the scenery. We returned late in the evening well pleased with the trip, but awfully hungry.

Jan 25th 1864

Went to City in company with Capt Brag—& was out in money \$45.45.

Feb 2nd 1864

The Steamer "Porsto" ran aground last night about 3 o'clock

in front of Battery Rutledge. She was loaded with government Stores—blockade goods. The soldiers got a great many shoes, blankets etc off her, but are ordered to return them to Col Keith's Headquarters. The Yankees are firing very rapidly at her this morning, have struck her several times; four Monitors move up & opened on her.

Feb 12th

Just as the Regt was formed for Dress Parade this evening an order came for our Regt to be prepared to march at 5 o'clock PM, with four days cooked rations. Soon after another order came to leave camp immediately & march to Mt Pleasant wharf & take Steamer for James Island. Maj. Culp sent me down to Col Keith's headquarters to see whether we would move *all* our Baggage & go in light marching order, but I could get no information from his act. Adj Genl, but he was under the impression it would be a permanent move, he however telegraphed to Genl Ripley to know. I did not wait for an answer. I went back to camp, got supper & went again to Col Keith's Headquarters where a dispatch came for us to go "in light marching order" at dusk, so we left immediately. I rode Conner's horse. When we got to the Bridge our guard there had not been relieved. I went to see Col Butler who said he would relieve it for us. In going across the Bridge I forgot the counter sign but prevailed on Sentinel to permit me to pass, caught up with the Regt at Mt Pleasant. When I got there I found the Bottle of Molasses which I had in my Basket had nearly all spilt out on my clothes, the stopper having come out. Jake soon washed it off tolerably well. The Regt was soon on board the vessel & landed us at pontoon Bridge across (Nappers?) Cut, after landing we marched a short distance & bivouacked for the night on James Island.

Feb 13th 1864

Early this morning reporting to Genl Taliaferro who said there was no farther use for the enemy had gone back; took the boat about dark & arrived at our old camp about 10 o'clock; late in the evening we were again ordered to proceed to Green Pond S. C.; took boat and landed at Savannah R. R. landing & lay over untill morning.

Feb. 14th. Left early this morning in cars for Green Pond, where w arrived in the evening; camped a short distance from R. R.

Left Green Pond for Wilmington 16th April 1864—This day eleven (11) months ago we started to Mississippi; on 25th April /63 left Wilmington N. C. or Charleston. On arrival in Charleston heard of the serious accident to Genl Evans falling from Buggy. - heard that the enemy were advancing on Goldsboro - that Genl Beauregard would take command of the forces to meet him. Walked up street, bought Genl orders from A & I, G. O. series of 628/63. Came back; met Alex Beaty just from home, had a letter & box for me from home. Soon after we left the City some of the soldiers cut off the train & jumped off & left for home—they all belonged to the two Barnwell Companies—the Engine went on with about half of the train; while waiting for the return of the Engine the Col insisted on some of the officers to sing some in order to pass away the time pleasantly. "When this cruel war is over" was pronounced the best & was "encored" several times. Several other songs, some amusing, some sentimental & all entertaining, so much so we were sorry when we heard the Engine whistle. I slept on the floor between the seats. Arrived at Kingstree in Williamsburg Dist a little after daylight (17th inst.) where several of us went in a gentleman's yard, got a big tub & washed our hands & faces. Arrived at Florence, junction of Wilmington & Manchester, and Darlington & Cheraw, the branch of the S. C. R. R. from Kingsville about 20 minutes after 1 o'clock A. M. (Distance from Charleston to Florence 102 miles, from Florence to Wilmington 106 miles). At Florence the conversation said we could not go on until 7 o'clock P. M., but the Col insisted on being carried down as far as Mars Bluff, but when we got there we had to go back to Florence on account of the turn-out being filled with cars & no way for another train to pass. Went to preaching at Hospital; several ladies present, none remarkable for beauty. Holcombe (Legion?) came up late in the evening. Went to preaching in Presbyterian Church this evening. Church crowded. Methodist preacher preached. After the services were over came back & slept soundly until about 5 o'clock in the morning when we started.

Monday 16th inst.

Left Florence about 5 o'clock A. M. Went as far as Mars Bluff, remained over there untill 9 o'clock at night—while lying over wrote to Pa—walked out a short distance to Mr Gregg, father of two of my College mates. Dr. (Hartlie?) gave the Regt several bushels of Potatoes—Mr. Gregg gave us his (tithe?) of Potatoes. Late in the evening Conners & myself went to see some young Ladies & had to double quick nearly all the way back to be on time; left about 9 o'clock & about daylight next morning had gone about 60 or 70 miles—rain during the night.

Tuesday—19th inst.

Still raining this morning, we go very slow—most of the cars have no covering—the soldiers all wet & cold. Our provisions nearly out, that is, coked provisions, we made no calculation of being detained so long on the road. Arrived at Wilmington this evening. Marched out 2 miles & bivouacked; got acquainted with a Miss Flora (McC.....?). Went to theatre. Orders to go to Weldon.

Wednesday 20th April

Orders to go to Weldon countermanded; went to Theatre.

Friday 22nd

Ordered to go to Tarboro to guard prisoners. Left Wilmington N. C. about sundown, passed through Goldsboro morning 23rd; at Rocky Mount on Wilmingham & Weldon R. R. we took a branch of the Road which leads to Tarboro. Distance from Tarboro to Rocky Mount 18 minutes. Arrived at Tarboro 11½ o'clock A. M. Marched out to a beautiful grove & stacked arms, procured cooking utensils & prepared some rations; walked out in town with Col, who kissed every pretty girl he saw. Ordered to cross Tar river & encamp about 1 mile of the river, where we bivouack for the night.

Monday 25th April

On guard, prisoners arrived about 11 o'clock A. M. A pen made, one side of river, the other (? ?) sentinels 13 paces apart—100 men on guard; prisoners worn out & hungry, feet blistered, nearly all barefooted, well uniformed, fine looking & healthy & lively; officers very polite and affable—2198 enlisted

men, 98 com. officers & 25 citizens. Great traffic between our men & the prisoners—buy most anything for a little bread and meat—got an old cloth & silver pencil & gold pen. Officers allowed to go up town under guard—great many ladies to see prisoners. I conducted several through lines to get good view; ladies very indignant & scornful—night—crowd dispersed, prisoners sleep—three Companies out as reserve & for emergency. No rations for the Com. Officers who take it finely—don't grumble much. Expect to get off tomorrow.

Tuesday 26th April 1864

Seven hundred prisoners sent off this morning under Capt. Avery. Trade still brisk. Made acquaintance of Miss Blackwell & Mr Floyd who invited me to call on them if I should ever be up here again. Rations nearly out. Our Company ordered off together with Co E. The "modus operandi" of selecting prisoners to be sent off is as follows: the orders of Sergets of each company form their different Companies, who are brought up to where a string of sentinels form a lane & as each mans name is called he walks out & continues as far down as he can get. We have under our charge the Sailors of the Southfield which was sunk by our ram, the men swam ashore, only a few of these, the balance being Mass., N. Y., Pensyl. & R. I. men. Passed through Wilson about dark, great many beautiful young ladies out to see prisoners, bitter in their denunciation against them. Mrs. D. S. Richardson invited me round to take supper, went, she gave me a splendid supper & loaded me down with provisions; invited me to call on her whenever I should pass through again; her husband is principal of a female school in the village, the house is now a hospital.

END OF DIARY

Grandson's note: The following written on one of the pages of the diary apparently is a list of favorite songs:

"When this cruel war is over"

"Brightest Yes"

"Lorena"

"Reply to Lorena"

"Where now are those fond hopes still so gently over me stealing"

PUBLICATIONS IN ALABAMA DURING THE
CONFEDERACY
LOCATED IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF
ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Compiled by

Jessie E. Cobb, Librarian

Department of Archives and History

An effort has been made to compile a record of the books, pamphlets, broadsides and newspapers printed in Alabama during the period of the Confederacy (January 1861-May 1865) that are in the Department of Archives and History. These imprints have been partially listed in *A Check List of Alabama Imprints, 1807-1870*, by Rhoda Ellison, University of Alabama Press, 1946; *Confederate Imprints*, by Marjorie Lyle Crandall, The Boston Athenaeum, 1955; and *More Confederate Imprints*, by Richard Harwell, The Virginia State Library, 1957. The outline used in making this list is the same as that used by Marjorie Lyle Crandall in *Confederate Imprints*.

A few items published in other states, have been included because of their importance to Alabama history. These items are indicated by an asterick thus: *

When listing or cataloguing titles, it is a general rule among librarians that information not given on the title page and supplied by the librarian from elsewhere is indicated that a half-bracket. The publisher of this *Quarterly* has no facilities to print a half-bracket and in lieu of this a parenthesis is used.

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA**OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS****CONSTITUTION****1**

. . . Constitution of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America. 8th February, 1861. Read first, second and third times and engrossed; and unanimously adopted. 1000 copies ordered to be printed. Howell Cobb, President of Congress. J. J. Hooper, Secretary. Montgomery, Ala.; Shorter & Reid, Printers, Advertiser Office. 1861. 15p. 21½cm.

At head of title: Congress of the Provisional Government. (Crandall 1; Ellison 1264)

2

Constitution of the Confederate States of America. Adopted unanimously by the Congress of the Confederate States of America, March 11, 1861. Montgomery, Ala.: Shorter & Reid, Printers, Advertiser Office, 1861. 22p. 24½cm.

(Crandall 7)

3

Provisional and permanent constitutions, together with the acts and resolutions of the first session of the Provisional Congress, of the Confederate States. 1861. Montgomery, Ala.: Shorter & Reid, Printers and Binders, 1861. 32p. 21cm.

(Crandall 12; Ellison 1268)

CONGRESS**4**

Acts and resolutions of the first session of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States. 1861. Montgomery, Ala.: Barrett, Wimbish & Co., Printers and Binders, 1861. 131p. 21cm.

(Crandall 15; Ellison 1265)

5

Acts and resolutions of the second session of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States. 1861. Montgomery, Ala.: Shorter & Reid, Printers and Binders. 1861. 122p. 21cm.

(Crandall 16; Ellison 1266)

6

Rules for the government of this Congress. Montgomery, Ala.: Shorter & Reid, Printers for Southern Congress. 1861. 7p. 21½cm.

(Crandall 1179; Ellison 1267)

PRESIDENT

7

Inaugural address of President Davis, delivered at the Capitol, Monday, February 18, 1861, at 1 o'clock, P.M. Montgomery, Ala.: Shorter & Reid, Printers, Advertiser Office, 1861. 8p. 21½cm.

(Crandall 607; Ellison 1271)

ARMY

8

A proclamation. To all soldiers in this department absent from their commands without leave. . . . By command of Lieut. Gen. Polk. (Demopolis, 1864.) *Broadside*. 26½ x 22½cm.

Dated: Headquarters, Demopolis, April 16, 1864.

(Crandall 707)

9

(Letter from S. B. Buckner, Major Gen. Commanding Dis. of Gulf to His Excellency John Gill Shorter, Governor of Alabama, 1863.) *Broadside*. 25x21cm.

Dated: Headquarters District of the Gulf, Mobile, January 24, 1863. (Requisition for 3000 more laborers for "completion of the works now projected and in progress" for the safety of Mobile.)

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT

10

(Circular letter no. 4) . . . (Instructing that equipment of the United States postal service be retained for the use of the Confederate States postal service on and after June 1, 1861, and

ordering reports of accounts through May 31 to be sent to the Chief of Finance Bureau of the Post-Office Department. Signed:) John H. Reagan, Post-Master General . . . (Montgomery, 1861.) *Broadside*. 25½ x 20cm.

Dated: Montgomery, May 20, 1861.

(Harwell 270::907-1)

11

. . . Report of the Postmaster-General to the President, April 29, 1861. (Post-Office Dpartment, Montgomery, Alabama.) (Richmond, 1865.) 44p. 22½cm.

Senate, February 10, 1865. - Ordered to be printed.

(Crandall 917)

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

12

(Tabular statement . . . showing the rates of duty upon merchandise under the tariff act of 1857, of the United States, as amended by the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States of America; the rates under the proposed tariff bill now pending before the said Provisional Congress; and the rates under the act of Congress of the United States of 1861. Montgomery, 1861.) 47p. 25cm.

Dated: April 22, 1861.

(Crandall 1203)

13

Treasury circular, No. 1-7. (Montgomery, 1861) 22cm.

Nos. 1-2 entitled Circular instructions. No. 1 dated Mar. 6, 1861. 14p. No. 2 dated Mar. 8, 1861. 2p. No. 3 dated Mar. 12, 1861. 16p. No. 4 dated Mar. 23, 1861. 3p. No. 5 dated Mar. 26, 1861. 19p. No. 6 dated Apr. 5, 1861. 7p. No. 7 dated April 5, 1861. 2p.

This item is interesting becuase the 7 circulars are bound together with Confederate States of America stationery, Treasury Department, Register's Office. Montgomery, 1861. It is fastened together with 5 eylet brads and laced with a cord. Hand-written on this covr is: April 13th (1861). Treasury Circulars from No. 1 to No. 7. Capt. J. S. Sear, With respects of Alex: B. Clitherall.

(Crandall 1205)

ALABAMA
OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS
CONVENTION

14

Journal of the Convention of the people of the State of Alabama, held at the city of Montgomery commencing on the 7th of January, 1861. Montgomery, Ala.: Shorter & Reid, State Printers, 1861. 258p. 21½cm.

Title page missing.

(Crandall 1451)

15

. . . An ordinance in relation to the waste and unappropriated lands in the state of Alabama. Montgomery, Ala.: Shorter & Reid, State Printers, Advertiser Office. 1861. 8p. 23½cm.

At head of title: In Convention—Jan. 29, 1861.—Reported by chairman of Special Committee on Public Lands.

(Harwell 403: :1451-1)

16

. . . An ordinance to make provisional postal arrangements in Alabama. (Montgomery, 1861) (2)p. 25cm.

Caption title.

Transmitted with letter of Secretary of State, Jan. 18, 1861.

17

. . . An ordinance to authorize the issuance of patents by the governor, and for other purposes. Montgomery, Ala.: Shorter & Reid, State Printers, Advertiser Office. 1861. 4p. 23½cm.

At head of title: In Convention—Jan. 29th, 1861.—Reported by Chairman of Special Committee on Public Lands.

18

Ordinances adopted by the people of the State of Alabama, in convention, at Montgomery, commencing on the seventh day of January, 1861. Andrew B. Moore, Governor. William M. Brooks, President of the Convention. Montgomery: Shorter & Reid, State Printers, Advertiser Office, 1861. 30p. 25cm.

(Crandall 1454; Ellison 1248)

ORDINANCES
AND
CONSTITUTION
OF THE
STATE OF ALABAMA,
WITH THE
CONSTITUTION
OF THE
PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
AND OF THE
CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

MONTGOMERY :
MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER BOOK AND JOB PRINTING OFFICE.

1861

19

Ordinances and constitution of the State of Alabama, with the constitution of the Provisional Government and of the Confederate States of America. Montgomery: Barrett, Wimbish & Co., Steam Printers and Binders, 1861. 152p. 22½cm.

The cover-title is the same, except that the publisher is Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Printing Office.

(Crandall 1455; Ellison 1249)

20

State Convention (Alabama)—March 9, 1861. Report of Committee on constitution . . . Proposed amendment to the State Constitution; on changing the mode of electing circuit judges. No imprint. 7p. 21½cm.

No title page.

(Ellison 1250)

21

To the people of Alabama. The undersigned delegates to the Convention of the People of the State of Alabama feel it their duty . . . to make public the reasons that actuate them in withholding their signatures from the Ordinance of Secession by which the people of Alabama resumed, on the 11th day of January, 1861, the powers previously delegated to and exercised by the Federal Government. . . . Montgomery, Montgomery Confederation (ca. Jan. 1861.) *Broadside*. 34½ x 25cm.

Names of 33 delegates listed.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

22

Acts of the called session of the General Assembly of Alabama, held in the city of Montgomery, commencing on the second Monday in January, 1861. Andrew B. Moore, Governor. A. B. Meek, Speaker of the House of Representatives. J. D. Rather, President of the Senate. Montgomery, Ala.: Shorter & Reid, State Printers, 1861. 161(1)p. 22cm.

(Crandall 1456; Ellison 1241)

23

Acts of the second called session, 1861 and of the first regular annual session of the General Assembly of Alabama, held in the city of Montgomery, commencing on the 28th day of October and second Monday in November, 1861. Andrew B. Moore, Governor until December 2, 1861. John Gill Shorter, Governor. Wm. H. Crenshaw, Speaker of the House of Representatives. Robert M. Patton, President of the Senate. Montgomery, Ala.: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office. 1862. 303(1)p. 22cm. (Crandall 1457; Ellison 1319)

24

Acts of the called session, 1862, and of the second regular annual session of the General Assembly of Alabama, held in the city of Montgomery, commencing on the 27th day of October and second Monday of November, 1862. John Gill Shorter, Governor. Walter H. Crenshaw, Speaker of House of Representatives. R. M. Patton, President of the Senate until Nov. 10, 1862. J. M. Calhoun, President of the Senate. Montgomery, Ala.: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office, 1862. 226p. 22cm. (Crandall 1459; Ellison 1320)

25

Acts of the called session of the General Assembly of Alabama, held in the city of Montgomery, commencing on the seventeenth day of August, 1863. John Gill Shorter, Governor, Walter H. Crenshaw, Speaker House of Representatives. Robert Jemison, Jr., President of the Senate until Aug. 24, 1863. Thomas A. Walker, President of the Senate. Montgomery, Ala.: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office. 1863. 63p. 21cm. (Crandall 1460)

26

Acts of the called session, 1863, and of the third regular session of the General Assembly of Alabama, held in the city of Montgomery, commencing on the 17th day of August and the 2nd Monday in November, 1863. John Gill Shorter, Governor until Dec. 1st, 1863. Thomas H. Watts, Governor. Walter H. Crenshaw, Speaker of the House of Representatives. Robert Jemison, Jr., President of the Senate. Montgomery, Ala.: Safford & Figures, State Printers, 1864. 248p. 22cm. (Crandall 1461; Ellison 1378)

27

Acts of the called session, 1864, of the General Assembly of Alabama, held in the city of Montgomery, commencing on the twenty-seventh day of September, 1864. Thomas H. Watts, Governor. Walter H. Crenshaw, Speaker House Representatives. Thomas A. Walker, President of the Senate. Montgomery, Ala.: Safford & Figures, State Printers, 1864. 55p. 22cm. (Ellison 1380; Harwell 406::1461-1)

28

Acts of the called session, 1864, and of the fourth regular annual session of the General Assembly of Alabama, held in the city of Montgomery, commencing on the 27th day of September and the 2d Monday in November, 1864. Thomas H. Watts, Governor. Walter H. Crenshaw, Speaker House Representatives. Thomas A. Walker, President of the Senate. Montgomery, Ala.: Safford & Figures, State Printers. 1864. 218p. 22cm. (Crandall 1462; Ellison 1379)

29

An act to amend an act to provide for the public safety, approved November 17, 1862. (Montgomery, 1862) *Broadside*. 25 x 21 cm.

30

Military code of the State of Alabama, revised and digested, with all amendments and additions to the end of the regular session of 1861. By P. H. Brittan, Secretary of State. Montgomery, Ala.: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office. 1861. 95p. 22½cm. (Crandall 1464; Ellison 1247)

SENATE

31

Journal of the called session of the Senate of the State of Alabama, held in the city of Montgomery, commencing January 14, 1861. With an index prepared by the Secretary of State. Montgomery, Ala.: Shorter & Reid, State Printers. 1861. 115p. 22cm. (Crandall 1465; Ellison 1243)

32

Journal of the second called session, 1861, and the first regular annual session of the Senate of the State of Alabama, held in the city of Montgomery, commencing on the 28th October, and the second Monday in November, 1861. With an index, prepared by the Secretary of State. Montgomery, Ala.: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office, 1862. 247p. 22cm.

(Crandall 1466; Ellison 1318)

33

Journal of the called session, 1862, and the second regular annual session of the Senate of the State of Alabama, held in the city of Montgomery, commencing on the 27th October, and the second Monday in November, 1862. With an index, prepared by the Secretary of State. Montgomery, Ala.: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office, 1863. 273p. 20½cm.

(Ellison 1341; Harwell 410::1466-1)

34

Journal of the called session, 1863, and the third regular annual session, of the Senate, of the State of Alabama, held in the city of Montgomery, commencing on the 17th August, and the second Monday in November, 1863. With an index, prepared by the Secretary of State. Montgomery, Ala.: Saffold & Figures, State Printers. 1864. 252p. 21½cm.

(Harwell 410::1466-2)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

35

. . . Committees of the House. Extra session, 1863. *Broadside*. 31½cm 19½cm.

36

Journal of the called session of the House of Representatives of the State of Alabama, held in the city of Montgomery, commencing January 14, 1861. With an index, prepared by the Secretary of State. Montgomery, Ala.: Shorter & Reid, State Printers, 1861. 198p. 22cm.

(Crandall 1467; Ellison 1242)

37

Journal of the second called session, 1861, and its first regular annual session of the House of Representatives of the State of Alabama, held in the city of Montgomery, commencing on the 28th October, and the second Monday in November, 1861. With an index, prepared by the Secretary of State. Montgomery, Ala.: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office, 1862. 296p. 22cm.

(Crandall 1468; Ellison 1318)

38

Journal of the called session, 1862, and the second regular annual session of the House of Representatives of the State of Alabama, held in the city of Montgomery, commencing on the 27th October, and the second Monday in November, 1862. With an index, prepared by the Secretary of State. Montgomery, Ala.: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office. 1863. 273p. 20½cm.

(Crandall 1469; Ellison 1341)

39

Journal of the called session, 1863, and the third regular annual session, of the House of Representatives, of the State of Alabama, held in the city of Montgomery, commencing on the 17th August, and the second Monday in November, 1863. With an index, prepared by the Secretary of State. Montgomery, Ala.: Saffold & Figures, State Printers. 1864. 266p. 21cm.

(Harwell 411::1469-1)

GOVERNOR (ANDREW B. MOORE)

40

Message of Governor A. B. Moore, to the Senate of Alabama, January 14, 1861. Senate—5000 copies. Montgomery, Ala.: Shorter & Reid, State Printers, Advertiser Office, 1861. 16p. 22cm.

(Crandall 1471; Ellison 1291)

41

Message of Governor A. B. Moore, to the House of Representa-

tives of Alabama, January 14, 1861. House—5000 copies. Montgomery, Ala.: Shorter & Reid, State Printers, Advertiser Office, 1861. 16p. 21½cm.

(Crandall 1472; Ellison 1290)

42

Message of Governor A. B. Moore, to the Legislature of Alabama, on the 28th of October, 1861. House—2500 copies. Montgomery, Shorter & Reid, State Printers. 1861. 30p. 22cm.

GOVERNOR (THOMAS H. WATTS)

43

Inaugural address of Gov. Thomas H. Watts before the Alabama Legislature, December 1st, 1863. Montgomery, Ala.: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office. 1863. 24p. 24cm.

(Crandall 1474; Ellison 1375)

44

Governor's message, (November, 1864. Montgomery, 1864). 16p. 20cm.

Caption title.

(Crandall 1475)

GOVERNOR (JOHN GILL SHORTER)

45

Inaugural address of Governor Shorter to the General Assembly of the State of Alabama. House—250 copies. Montgomery: Shorter & Reid, State Printers, 1861. 8p. 22cm.

46

(Letter) To the Judge of Probate ofCounty: 1862. *Broadside*. 24x19cm.

Dated: Executive Department, Montgomery, Alabama, June 28, 1862. (Surplus salt . . . set apart and appropriated to the use of indigent families of volunteers from Alabama in the Confederate Army. Probate Judge is to report to this office wants of such indigent families.)

47

To the officers and men of the First Alabama Regiment. *Broadside*: 44 x 31 cm.

Dated: Executive Department, Montgomery, Alabama, December 18, 1861. Calls for "reorganization and mustering for the war."

ADJUTANT AND INSPECTOR GENERAL

48

General order, no. 4. . . . Montgomery, 1862 *Broadside*. 17 x 14cm. Dated: Montgomery, Ala., March 17, 1862.

(Concerns distillation of "Ardent Spirits", selling of "Ardent Spirits" within ten miles of military camp, etc.)

COMPTROLLER

49

Biennial report of the Comptroller of Public Accounts to the General Assembly of the State of Alabama, at its eighth biennial session in the city of Montgomery. Begun and held on the second Monday in November 1861. Montgomery, Shorter & Reid, State Printers, 1861. 93(2)p. 21cm.

(Crandall 1477)

50

Annual report of the Comptroller of Public Accounts to the General Assembly of the State of Alabama, at its second session in the city of Montgomery. Begun and held on the second Monday in November, 1862. Montgomery: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Printing Office. 1862. 72p. 21cm.

(Ellison 1317)

51

Annual report of the Comptroller of Public Accounts to the General Assembly of the State of Alabama, at its third annual session in the city of Montgomery. Begun and held on the second Monday in November, 1863. Montgomery, Ala.: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office. 1863. 67(1)p. 21cm.

52

Annual report of the Comptroller of Public Accounts to the General Assembly of the State of Alabama as its fourth annual session in the city of Montgomery. Begun and held on the second Mnday in November, 1864. Montgomery, Ala.: Saffold & Figures, State Printers. 1864. 57(1)p. 21cm.

(Ellison 1377; Harwell 416::1478-1)

53

Letter from the Comptroller, W. J. Greene, to the Judge of Probate "Herewith I enclose copies of the acts. To amend the revenue laws of this state,' 'To further amend the revenue laws of this State,' 'To guard and protect the appropriations made by the General Assembly of this State for the support of families of indigent soldiers,' and 'Making an appropriation for the support of the indigent families of soldiers in the military service from the State of Alabama,' each of which was approved on the 13th December, 1864." Etc., etc. (Montgomery, Ala., 1864.) (1)p. 20cm.

INSANE HOSPITAL

54

Annual report of the officers of the Alabama Insane Hospital, at Tuscaloosa, for the year 1862. Montgomery, Ala.: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office, 1862. 47p. 21cm.

(Crandall 1480; Ellison 1321)

55

Acts of the Legislature, and by-laws, for the erection, organization and government of the Alabama Insane Hospital, at Tuscaloosa. Tuscaloosa: Printed at the "Observer" Book & Job Office, 1861. 32p. 22cm.

(Ellison 1246; Harwell 417::1480-1)

INSTITUTION FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE
DEAF AND DUMB

56

First annual report of the board of trustees and officers of the

Alabama Institution, for the education of the deaf and dumb, located at Talladega, to the Governor of the State of Alabama, for the year ending July 1, 1861. Montgomery: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Printing Office, 1861. 42p. 22cm.

(Ellison 1252; Harwell 418:: 1480-2)

SUPREME COURT

57

In the Supreme Court of Alabama. January term, 1861. Ala. Life Ins. & Trust Cmpny, appellant, vs. James M. Boykin, appellee. Mobile: Printed by J. Y. Thompson, 26 North Water Street, 1861. 16p. 20cm.

58

In the Supreme Court of Alabama. January term, 1861. Alabama Life Insurance & Trust Co. vs. James M. Boykin. Supplemental brief as to the consideration of the mortgage of 1844. Mobile: Printed by J. Y. Thompson, 26 North Water Street, 1861. 16p. 20cm.

59

Select cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of Alabama, during the years 1861-'62-'63. Reported by John W. Shepherd, state reporter. Volume 1. Montgomery: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office. 1864. 792p. 22½cm.

(Crandall 1482; Ellison 1381)

MONTGOMERY

60

Sanford, John W. A.

The code of the city of Montgomery, prepared in pursuance of an order of the City Council of Montgomery. By John W. A. Sanford. Montgomery, Ala.: Gaines & Smith, Caloric Book and Job Printers, 1861. 160p. 22½cm.

(Crandall 1484; Ellison 1301)

UNOFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

PART I

MILITARY, HISTORICAL AND ECONOMIC PUBLICATIONS

Military Texts and Manuals

61

*Fowler, William H.

Guide for claimants of deceased soldiers; being instructions to army officers and to claimants, with a collation of the laws of Congress and the orders from the War Department, and the rules of practice in the offices of the second auditor and Comptroller of the Treasury, concerning the settlement of the claims of deceased officers and soldiers. By W. H. Fowler, superintendent army records and agent to adjust the claims of deceased soldiers for the State of Alabama. Revised and approved by the second auditor and Comptroller of the Treasury, and adapted to general use. Richmond, Va., Geo. P. Evans & Co., Printers. 1864. 72p. 19cm.

(Crandall 2413)

62

Hardee, William Joseph

. . . Rifle and infantry tactics, revised and improved by Col. W. J. Hardee, C. S. Army, second edition . . . Mobile, S. H. Goetzel & Co. First Year of the Confederacy. (1861) 2v. Plates. 20½ cm. At head of title: The only copy-right edition.

Dept. has v.1 only.

(Crandall 2423)

63

Hardee, William Joseph

. . . Rifle and infantry tactics, revised and improved by Col. W. J. Hardee, C. S. Army. Second edition . . . Mobile: S. H. Goetzel & Co. First Year of the Confederacy. (1861) 2v. 13cm.

At head of title: The only copy-right edition.

Dept. has v.2 only.

(Crandall 2424)

64

Hardee, William Joseph

. . . Rifle and infantry tactics, revised and improved by Brig. Gen. W. J. Hardee, C.S. Army. (Third Edition.) Mobile: S.H. Goetzel & Co. First Year of the Confederacy. (1861) 2v. Plates. 13cm.

At head of title: The only copy-right edition.

Dept. has v.1 only.

(Crandall 2425)

65

Hardee, William Joseph

. . . Rifle and infantry tactics, revised and improved by Brig. Gen. W. J. Hardee, C.S. Army. Fifth edition. . . Mobile: S.H. Goetzel & Co. First Year of the Confederacy. (1861) 2v. 13cm.

At head of title: The only copy-right edition.

Dept. has v.1 only.

(Crandall 2426; Ellison 1278)

66

Hardee, Maj. Gen. W. J.

. . . Rifle and infantry tactics, revised and improved by Maj. Gen. W. J. Hardee, C.S. Army. Eighth edition . . . Mobile: S.H. Goetzel, 1863. 2v. 13cm.

At head of title: The only copy-right edition.

Dept. has v.2 only.

(Crandall 2428)

67

Hardee, William Joseph

. . . Rifle and infantry tactics, revised and improved by Lieut. Gen. W. J. Hardee, C.S. Army. Ninth Edition . . . Mobile: S. H. Goetzel, 1863. 2v. Plates. 13cm

At head of title: The only copy-right edition.

(Crandall 2429)

68

Wheeler, Joseph

A revised system of cavalry tactics, for the use of the cavalry and mounted infantry, C.S.A. By General Joseph Wheeler, Chief

of Cavalry, Army of Tennessee, C.S.A. Mobile: S.H. Goetzel & Co., 1863. Verso: Farrow & Dennett, Printers. 220, 104, 47, 97-108, xivp. Plates. 13cm.

(Crandall 2491; Ellison 1376)

Military Miscellanies

69

Williams, John R.

A discourse, delivered by Jno. R. Williams, on the occasion of the presentation of a banner, to a military company, on the 22nd of February, 1861. Tuskegee, Ala.: Printed at the office of the South Western Baptist, at the request and "charges" of the author. 1861. 16p. 21½cm.

(Ellison 1314; Harwell 1018::2556-10)

Description and Travel

70

Farrow & Dennett's Mobile (Alabama) city directory for the year 1861 . . . Farrow & Dennett, Book, Card and Job Printers, No. 3 North Water Street, (1861) 76p., adv. 76p. appendix 28p. 22½cm.

Title page missing. Information from cover.

(Eddison 1286; Harwell 1042::2668-1)

71

Fremantle, Sir Arthur James Lyon

Three months in the Southern states: April, June, 1863. By Lieut.-Col. Fremantle, Coldstream Guards. Mobile: S.H. Goetzel. 1864. 158p. 20cm.

Wall-paper covers.

(Crandall 2670; Ellison 1356)

72

Tharin, William C.

A directory of Marengo county, for 1860-61: embracing the names of the voters in the county, alphabetically arranged, their occupation, post office and residence; numerous tables of statistics, a short sketch of the county, advertisements, etc. By W. C.

Tharin, Linden, Ala. Mobile: Farrow & Dennett, Printers, No. 3 North Water Street. 1861. 67p. 18cm.

(Ellison 1312; Harwell 1045::2677-1)

Politics, Finance and Economics

73

Caldwell, John Y.

To the voters of Marion County, Ala. Announcement of his being a candidate to the lower branch of the next Legislature and asking for their aid and support. Camp Santee, Va., 1863. *Broadside*. 31½ x 24cm.

Signed: John Y. Caldwell, Captain Co. B, 26th Alabama Reg't. Camp Santee, Va., May 14, 1863.

74

Humphreys, D. C.

To his Excellency, Thos. H. Watts, Governor of Alabama: Suggestions why a Convention of delegates of the people of the state should be called. Huntsville, Ala., January, 1865. *Broadside*. 47½ x 31½cm.

75

Keith, M. J. A.

Letter to Hon. John H. Reagan, Postmaster General from "a committee appointed for the purpose, at a late meeting of the citizens of the city of Selma, respectfully present . . . a change in the route of the mail from Richmond south to this place . . ." M. J. A. Keith, Ch'n, W. S. Knox, W. S. Burr, Alex. White, F. W. Siddons, H. H. Ware. (Selma, Ala., 1861.) *Broadside*.

31½ x 19½cm.

Dated: Selma, Alabama, October 15, 1861.

St. Paul, Henry

Our home and foreign policy, by Henry St. Paul. November, 1863. (Mobile) Printed at the Office of the Daily Register and Advertiser. 1863. 23p. 20½cm.

(Crandall 2835; Ellison 1373)

REPORT
OF THE
PRESIDENT AND DIRECTORS
OF THE
Alabama & Florida R. R. Co.,
TO
THE STOCKHOLDERS,
AT THEIR
ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER 10, 1863.

MONTGOMERY:
MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER COOK AND JOB PRINTING OFFICE.
1863.

77

Smith, Robert Hardy

An address to the citizens of Alabama, on the constitution and laws of the Confederate States of America, by the Hon. Robert H. Smith, at Temperance Hall, on the 30th of March, 1861. (Published by request of the citizens of Mobile) Mobile: Mobile Daily Register Print, 1861. 24p. 21½cm.

(Crandall 2844; Ellison 1307)

78

Smith, William Russell

The history and debates of the Convention of the people of Alabama, begun and held in the city of Montgomery, on the seventh day of January, 1861; in which is preserved the speeches of the secret sessions, and many valuable state papers. By William R. Smith, one of the delegates from Tuscaloosa. Montgomery: White, Pfister & Co. Tuscaloosa: D. Woodruff. Atlanta: Wood, Hanleiter, Rice & Co. 1861. 464p. 22½cm.

(Crandall 2845; Ellison 1308)

79

Yancey, William Lowndes

Speeches of William L. Yancey, Esq., Senator from the State of Alabama; made in the Senate of the Confederate States, during the session commencing on the 18th day of August, A. D. 1862. Montgomery, Alabama: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office. 1862. 54p. 21½cm.

(Crandall 2879; Ellison 1339)

Railroads, Steamboats and Canals

80

Alabama and Florida Rail Road Company

Report of the president and directors of the Alabama & Florida R. R. Co., to the stockholders, at their annual meeting, November 10, 1863. Montgomery: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office. 1863. 20p. 22cm.

81

Alabama and Mississippi Rivers Rail Road Company
Memorial of the Alabama and Mississippi Rivers Rail Road Company (to the Honorable, Congress of the Confederate States of America) No imprint. 1861? 8p. 22cm.
(Ellison 1253)

82

Montgomery and West Point Rail Road Company
Report of the president and directors of the Montgomery & West Point Rail Road Company to the stockholders, at their annual meeting, April 8th, 1862. Montgomery: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Printing Office. 1862. 18p. 22cm.
(Crandall 2973)

PART II

BELLES-LETTERS

Fiction

83

[Braddon, Mary Elizabeth]

Lady Audley's secret! By the author of "Lady Lisle," "John Marchmont's legacy," etc. Mobile: S. H. Goetzel. 1864. 293p. 19cm.

(Crandall 3076; Ellison 1389)

84

[Mundt, Frau Clara]

Joseph II and his court. An historical novel, by L. Mulbach [pseud.]. From the German, by Adelaide DeV. Chaudron . . . Mobile: S. H. Goetzel, Publisher. 1864. 4v. bound as 1. 20cm.

At head of cover-title: Copyright secured.

At foot of cover-title: Farrow & Dennett, Printers, Mobile.

Wall-paper covers for each volume.

(Crandall 3106; Ellison 1404)

Poetry

85

[Fane, Julian Henry Charles, and Lytton, Edward Robert Bulwer-Lytton, 1st Earl]

Tannhauser; or, the battle of the bards. A poem. By Neville Temple [pseud.] and Edward Trevor [pseud.]. Mobile: Published by S. H. Goetzel & Co., 33 Dauphin Street. 1863. 125p. 21½ cm.

(Crandall 3138; Ellison 1347)

Broadside Verse

86

"A Happy New Year." Carrier's address to the patrons of the Montgomery "Daily Mail." 1865. **Broadside.** 22½cm.x31½cm.

Drama

87

The Twin Sisters, an operetta. In four acts. Tuscaloosa, Alabama. "Independent Monitor" Job Office Print. May 1861. 13p. 22cm.

(Crandall 3232; Ellison 1292)

PART III

SHEET MUSIC

88

Annen polka; by S. Schlesinger. Mobile, Ala. Published by J. H. Snow, 102 & 104, Dauphin St., [1861] 5p. 35½cm. (Southern flowers (fleurs de sud); a selection of favorite pieces arranged for the piano forte and respectfully dedicated to the young ladies of the sunny south . . . 3)

89

*Annie of the vale, solo & chorus; words by George P. Morris, Esq.; music by J. R. Thomas . . . Macon and Savannah, Ga., J. C. Schreiner & Son . . . Montgomery, Ala., W. S. Barton . . . Selma, Ala., J. W. Blandin . . . Mobile, Ala., Jos. Bloch, J. H. Snow . . . [1861]. 4p 31½cm.

Printer: James F. Weeks.
(Crandall 3303)

90

Il Bacio (der kuss) [the kiss]; celebre valse et song pour piano de L. Arditi. Mobile, J. H. Snow, 29 Dauphin St. [1863] 9p. 33½cm.

Music by L. Aditi; transcription by Ls. De Roche. Engraver: Wehrmann.

91

. . . The banner of the South; words by P. E. Collins, Esq. of Mobile; music by Newton Fitz. Mobile, J. H. Snow, 29 Dauphin St. [1861] 5p. 32½cm.

At head of title: Respectfully dedicated to the Southern Confederacy of States by the author.

Engravers: W. H. Leeson, Wehrmann.
(Crandall 3312; Ellison 1261)

92

*Ben Bolt; or, Oh! don't you remember; by N. Kneass. Augusta, Ga., Blackmar & Bro., . . . Montgomery, Ala., W. S. Barton,

Selma, Ala., J. W. Blandin. [186—]. [3]p. 30½cm. (The exotics; flowers of song transplanted to Southern soil.)

Title from caption.

Lithographer: B. Duncan & Co.
(Crandall 3324)

93

The bloom is on the rye, composed by Henry R. Bishop. Mobile, Joseph Bloch [186—] 5p. 32cm. (Southern Fire side songs . . . 5)

94

*The brightest eyes; words by H. Heine; music by G. Stigelli. Macon, Ga., John W. Burke; Selma, Al. [186—]. 31cm. (Gems of Southern song.)

Title from caption.

Lithographer: B. Duncan & Co.
(Crandall 3350)

95

The brightest eyes (die schönsten Augen) by Stigelli. Mobile, Joseph Bloch [186—] 5p. 32cm. (Southern Fire side songs . . . 14)

Title from caption.

96

*The captain with his whiskers, written by W. J. Florence; music arranged by T. Comer. Macon and Savannah, John C. Schreiner & Son . . . Mobile, Ala., Jos. Bloch, J. H. Snow . . . Selma, Ala., J. W. Blandin. [186—] 4p. 30½cm. (Musical album . . . 3.)

Title from caption.

(Crandall 3364)

97

*Carrie Bell! Ballad. Words by Capt. W. C. Capers, C.S.A. Music by Theo. Von La Hache. New Orleans. Vicksburg, Blackmar & Bro. 5p. 32cm.

(Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1861 by A.

E. Blackmar & Bro. in the Cl. Off. of the D.C. of the C.S. for the D: of Ala.)

98

*Dreams, reverie by H.C.L.; composed by F. H. Hodges. Macon, Ga.; John C. Schreiner & Son . . . Montgomery, Ala., B. B. Baughan . . . [186—]. 4p. 35½cm. (Parlor Gems: a collection of the most popular songs and duetts, with piano accompaniment . . . 1.)

Title from caption.

Printer: J. F. Weeks.

(Crandall 3431)

99

*. . . The drummer boy of Shiloh, as sung by the first Tenn. concert troupe; arranged for the piano forte by E. Clarke Ilsley. Augusta, Ga., Blackmar & Bro., . . . Mobile, Ala., H. C. Clarke. [1863]. [4]p. 29cm.

At head of title: Dedicated to Mr. Harry B. Macarthy.

Lithographers: B. Duncan & Co.

(Crandall 3432)

100

*Gen'l Beauregard's grande polka militaire! By Ascher. New Orleans, P. P. Werlein & Halsey; Mobile, Bromberg & Son, Jos. Bloch . . . Huntsville, Logeman & Hollenberg . . . [1861]. 7p. incl. front. 33cm.

Frontispiece: Engraved portrait of General Beauregard mounted on a horse in a battle scene.

Green wrappers.

Engraved: Wehrmann.

(Crandall 3478)

101

*. . . Gen. Mercer's grand march! By Hermann L. Schreiner: author of Gen. Lee's grand march, Stonewall Jackson's grand march, Nobody hurt march. Macon, Ga.: Published by John C. Schreiner & Son, Augusta, Charles Catlin, Montgomery, Ala., B. B. Baughan . . . [186—] 3p. 34½cm.

At head of title: To Gen. Hugh W. Mercer, of Savannah, Ga.
Printer: J. F. Weeks.

"Trio—'Brightest eyes.'"—p. 3.
(Crandall 3488)

102

*. . . Gondellied fur das piano; componirt von Theodor Oesten.
Augusta, Ga., Blackmar & Bro. . . . Mobile, Ala., H. C. Clarke
. . . [186—] 30½cm.

At head of title: Southern edition.
Lithographer: B. Duncan & Co.
(Crandall 3514)

103

I remember the hour when sadly we parted: companion to "When
this cruel war is over," song and chords . . . Published by H. C.
Clarke, No. 13 Royal Street, Mobile, Ala. 1864. 4p. 30½cm.

Lithographer: B. Duncan & Co.
(Crandall 3545)

104

*I see her still in my dreams; poetry and music by Stephen C.
Foster. Macon, Ga., John C. Schreiner & Son . . . Huntsville, Ala.,
Logemann & Hollenberg . . . Mobile, Ala., Joseph Bloch, J. W.
Snow . . . Selma, Ala., J. W. Blandin . . . [186—] 5p. 30cm. (The
Southern musical boquet of favorite songs and ballads . . . 8.)

Title from caption.
Printer: J. F. Weeks.
(Crandall 3548)

105

I wandered by the sea-beat shore; shells of ocean, written by
Lake, composed by Cherry. Mobile, Ala., Joseph Bloch [186—]
5p. 32cm. (Collection of operatic songs and ballads.)

Title from caption; cover-title: Shells of ocean.

106

*I'd be a star; works by R. J. N. Keeling; music by Ch. H. Ger-
ken. Augusta, Ga., Blackmar & Bro. . . . Montgomery, Al., W.
S. Barton . . . Selma, Al., J. W. Blandin . . . [186—] 5p. 30½cm.

(The exotics, flowers of song transplanted to Southern soil.)

Title from caption.

Lithographer: B. Duncan & Co.

(Crandall 3558)

107

Jefferson Davis grand march; galop, quick step; by Wm. Herz.
Mobile, J. H. Snow, 29 Dauphin St. (1861) 6p. 33½cm.

Portrait of Jefferson Davis on cover.

(Crandall 3578; Ellison 1279)

108

*Let me kiss him for his mother; dedicated to E. Kelly esq.;
poetry and music by John P. Ordway. Augusta, Ga., Blackmar
& Bro. . . . Montgomery, Al., W. S. Barton, Selma, Al., J. W.
Blandin . . . [186—] [3]p. 30cm. (The exotics; flowers of song
transplanted to Southern soil.)

Title from caption.

Lithographer: B. Duncan & Co.

(Crandall 3600)

109

. . . The light of stars; song; composed by Miss M. D. Poindexter.
Mobile, Ala., Published by J. H. Snow, 29 Dauphin St. [1861]
3p. 35½cm.

At head of title: Affectionately dedicated by Mrs. M. J. Poin-
dexter & Miss Grady.

(Crandall 3604; Ellison 1294)

110

Longing I think of thee, ballad. Mobile, Joseph Bloch [186—]
5p. 32cm. (Southern fire side songs . . . 17)

Title from caption.

Engraver: Wehrmann.

To his paper
Miss Mittie Austill
copyrighted

THE

MITTIE

POLKA

composed for the

Piano Forte

BY

J. E. CLEPPER.

111

. . . The lost chord; written by Adelaide Anne Proctor; music composed by Wm. Herz. Mobile, Ala. Published by J. H. Snow, 29 Dauphin St. [1861] 5p. 32½cm.

At head of title: Respectfully dedicated to Mrs. Mary L. Snow, by the author.

112

. . . The Mittie polka, composed for the piano forte by J. E. Gleffer. [Mobile, J. H. Snow, 1861] 5p. 33½cm.

At head of title: To his pupil Miss Mittie Austill, of Mobile, Ala.

113

*Mother, is the battle over? composed by Benedict Roefs. Augusta, Blackmar & Bro. . . . Montgomery, Al., W. S. Barton . . . Selma, Al., J. W. Blandin . . . [186—] 4p. 30cm. (The exotics; flowers of song transplanted to Southern soil.)

Title from caption.

Lithographer: B. Duncan & Co.

(Crandall 3665)

114

*The officer's funeral; poetry and music by the Hon. Mrs. Norton. Macon, Ga.: John C. Schreiner & Son . . . Montgomery, Ala., B. B. Baughan . . . [186—] 3p. 31½cm. (Parlor gems . . . 2.)

Title from caption.

Printer: J. F. Weeks.

(Crandall 3703)

115

. . . The old house by the bay; words by Harry A. Barclay; music by S. Schlesinger, Professor of Music, at the Summerville Female Seminary, Summerville, Noxabee County, Miss. Mobile, Ala. Published by Joseph Bloch, 55 Dauphin St. [c1861] 5p. 35½cm.

At head of title: To his Cousin Clara A. Bendy.

(Crandall 3711)

116

*Orleans Cadets quick step; by E. O. Eaton. New Orleans, A. E.

Blackmar & Bro. . . . Mobile, J. H. Snow. [1861] 5p. 34cm.
 Illustrated cover: Lithograph of Lt. Col. Dreux, Sergt. Alexander, and E. O. Eaton.

Engraver: J. Lion.

Page 3-4 missing.

(Crandall 3717)

117

Rock beside the sea [by] Ch. Converse. Mobile: Joseph Bloch, No. 55 Dauphin St. [1861] 5p. 35½cm. (Southern fire-side songs. . . . 9)

(Harwell 1322: :3776-1)

118

*Rock me to sleep, mother; poetry by Florence Percy; music by Ernest Leslie. Macon, John C. Schreiner & Son . . . Mobile, Ala., Joseph Bloch, J. H. Snow; Huntsville, Ala., Logemann & Hollenberg; Selma, Ala.; J. W. Blandin . . . [186—] 5p. (The Southern musical boquet of favorite songs and ballads. . . 2.)

Title from caption.

Printer: J. F. Weeks.

(Crandall 3781)

119

*Scenes that are brightest, popular song from Maritana, composed by W. V. Wallace. New Orleans, A. E. Blackmar & Co. . . . Mobile, J. H. Snow . . . [186—] [3]p. 35 cm. (Blackmar & Bro's selection of operatic songs.)

Title from caption.

120

The secession gun, words by Wm. R. Poindexter, Principal of Calhoun Institute, Macon, Miss., music by N.P.B. Curtiss. Mobile, Ala., J. H. Snow, 29 Dauphin St. [1861] 5p. 35½cm.

At head of title: To Jeff Davis, President of the Confederate States.

Engraver: W. H. Leeson.

121

. . . Secession march; sur le motif de la Marseillaise; composed

for the piano by Wm. Herz. Mobile, Ala., J. H. Snow, 29 Dauphin St. [1861] 7 p. 33½cm.

At head of title: To First Regiment Ala Volunteer Corps.
(Crandall 3892; Ellison 1280)

122

*Smith's march; composed and dedicated to Gen'l Persifor F. Smith, the hero of Contreras; by T. J. Martin. Macon and Savannah, John C. Schreiner & Son . . . Mobile, Ala., Jos. Bloch, J. W. Snow . . . Selma, Ala., J. W. Blandin . . . Montgomery, Ala., W. S. Barton, Teacher's Exchange . . . [186—] 4p. 34cm.

Printer: J. F. Weeks.

(Crandall 3807)

123

. . . The soldier's dream, composed by Fr. Sulzner. Mobile, J. H. Snow, 29 Dauphin Street [1862] 3p. 32½cm.

At head of title: To Miss D. E. Johnston, of Mobile.

Engraver: Wehrmann.

(Crandall 3810)

124

The Southern battle song, respectfully dedicated to His Excellency Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of North America; words by P. E. Collins, Esq. of Mobile; music by William Herz. Mobile, Ala., Published by J. H. Snow, 29 Dauphin St. [1861] 5p. 32½cm.

Engraver: W. H. Leeson.

(Crandall 3826)

125

. . . Southern military grand march, dedicated to the patriotic sons of the States foremost in defence of Southern rights, composed by Miss Helen M. Skatts, of Mobile. Mobile, Ala., Bromberg & Son [1861] 5p. 35½cm.

Engraver: W. H. Leeson

(Crandall 3835; Ellison 1306)

126

Southern victory polka march; respectfully dedicated to General Beauregard by the published; composed for the piano by Wm. Herz. [Mobile, Ala. Published by J. H. Snow, 29 Dauphin St., [c1861] 5p. 35½cm.

(Crandall 3841; Ellison 1281)

THIRD EDITION.

Trust to Luck Alabama

A PATRIOTIC SONG,

WRITTEN BY

G. W. JAMISON, ESQ.,

SUNG AT THE

MOBILE THEATRE,

BY

S. B. EDUENDELLER.

MUSIC ARRANGED

BY JACOB SCHLESINGER.

MOBILE.

PUBLISHED BY JOSEPH BLOCH, 55 DAUPHIN STREET.

NEW AND POPULAR MUSIC.

PUBLISHED BY

JOSEPH BLOCH,

No. 55 Dauphin St., Mobile, Ala.

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Just published—SOUTHERN FLOWERS—(FLEURS DU SUD)—a selection of favorite pieces easily arranged for the PIANO FORTE, by E. SEITZINGER, (in 24 numbers.)

Also, The Southern Republic Polka March, dedicated to the Officers and Members of the FIRST REGIMENT ALABAMA VOLUNTEER CORPS, by WM. G. BUSTARD.

Music Published! Music neatly Bound!

—ADVERTISING AND BINDER PRINT.

127

The Southern wagon; respectfully hitched up for the President, officers and men of the Confederate Army. Mobile, Joseph Bloch, 55 Dauphin St. [1862] 5p. 33½cm.

Engraver: Wehrmann.

(Crandall 3842)

128

Star of the evening; song and chorus, words and melody James M. Sayles, harmonised and arranged by Henry Tucker. Mobile, Joseph Bloch [186—] 5p. 32cm. (Southern Fire side songs . . . 16)

Title from caption.

Engraver: Wehrmann.

*Stonewall Jackson's grand march! Illustrative of "Stonewall Jackson's Way." By Charles Young . . . New Orleans: Published by A. E. Blackmar . . . Mobile: J. H. Snow, Joseph Bloch, Putnam & Co. 1863, 1864. 7p. 33½cm.

Engraver: Wehrmann.

130

. . . Trust to luck Alabama; a patriotic song; written by G. W. Jamison; sung at the Mobile theatre, by S. B. Duffield; music arranged by Jacob Schlesinger. Mobile, Joseph Bloch, [186—]. 5p. 33½cm.

At head of title: (Third edition.)

Printer: Mobile Daily Register.

(Crandall 3905)

131

*We may be happy yet; from the "Daughter of St. Mark;" [by] M. W. Balfe. Augusta, Ga., Blackmar & Bro.; Richmond, Va., J. W. Randolph . . . Mobile, Al., H. C. Clarke . . . [186—] [3]p. 29½cm. (Blackmar & Bro's collection of standard music, vocal and instrumental, arranged for the piano-forte.)

Title from caption.

Lithographer: B. Duncan & Co.

(Crandall 3948)

132

*When I saw sweet Nellie home; composed and arranged by John Fletcher. Macon and Savannah, Ga., John C. Schreiner & Son. . . . Mobile, Ala., Jos. Bloch, J. W. Snow . . . Selma, Ala., J. W. Blandin. [186—] 4p. 31cm. (Musical album . . . 5.)

Title from caption.

(Crandall 3954)

133

* . . . When he boys come home, words and music by Charles Carroll Sawyer . . . Augusta, Ga., Blackmar & Bro. . . . Montgomery, Ala., W. S. Barton . . . Mobile, Ala., Bromberg & Son, J. H. Snow, Jos. Bloch, H. C. Clarke . . . [186—] [5]p. 30½cm.

At head of title: To Mrs. Myler Armstrong, Meridian, Miss.

Lithographer and printer: J. T. Paterson & Co.

Title page printed in red.

(Crandall 3956)

134

When the swallows homeward fly (Wenn die schwalben heimwärts zieh'n) [by] Franz Abt. Mobile, Joseph Bloch [186—] 5p. 32cm. (Southern fire side songs . . . 1)

Title from caption.

Engraver: Wehrmann.

135

*When the swallows homeward fly; by Franz Abt. Macon, Ga., John C. Schreiner & Son . . . Montgomery, Ala., B. B. Baughan . . . [186—] 3p. 34cm. (Parlor gems: a collection of the most popular songs and duetts, with piano accompaniment . . . 6.)

Title from caption.

Printer: J. F. Weeks.

(Crandall 3958)

136

*When this cruel war is over; words by Charles C. Sawyer; music by Henry Tucker. Macon and Savannah, J. C. Schreiner & Son . . . Montgomery, Ala., W. S. Barton . . . Selma, Ala., J. W. Blandin . . . Mobile, Ala., Jos. Bloch, J. H. Snow . . . [186—]

3p. 32½cm.

Printer: J. F. Weeks.

(Crandall 3960)

137

*Would I were with thee; words by Mrs. Norton; new melody and arrangement for piano by Carlo Bosetti. New Orleans, P. P. Werlein & Halsey . . . Mobile, Bromberg & Son . . . Huntsville, Logeman & Hollenberg . . . [186—] 5p. 32½cm. (Vox populi: a selection of popular songs and ballads, by various composers.)

Title from caption: not listed on cover.

(Crandall 3976)

138

*. . . You are going to the wars, Willie boy! a ballad; words and music by John H. Hewitt. Macon and Savannah, John C. Schreiner & Son . . . Mobile, Ala., Jos. Bloch, J. H. Snow . . . Selma, Ala., J. W. Blandin . . . Montgomery, Ala., W. S. Barton, Teachers' Exchange . . . c1863. 3p. 34cm

At head of title: To Miss Fanny Waldron, "Queen Sisters."

(Crandall 3980)

PART IV

EDUCATIONAL PUBLICATIONS

... Education and Educational Institutions

139

*Alabama University, Tuscaloosa

Catalogue of the officers and students of the University of Alabama, for 1860-61. Nashville, Tenn.: Printed at the Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1861. 31[1]p. 22cm.

140

Hill, Edward Young

The power of beauty: an address delivered before the Hannah Moore and Martha Washington Societies, of the Greenville Collegiate Institute, for young ladies, on the 19th of April, 1861, by Edw. Young Hill. Montgomery, Ala : Floyd & Warrock Book and Job Printers, 1861. 11p. 22cm.

(Ellison 1282)

141

Montgomery Military Academy, Montgomery

Regulations and rules of the Montgomery Military Academy, incorporated July 6, 1860, located at Montgomery, Ala. Richard Ford, A.M., Superintendent. Montgomery, Ala.: Floyd & Warrock Book and Job Printers. 1861. 15p. 21½cm.

(Crandall 4003; Ellison 1289)

PART V

RELIGIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Sermons

142

Cobbs, Nicholas Hamner, Bishop of Alabama

. . . The farewell message to his clergy: The address delivered at the funeral, by the Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, D.D., Bishop of Georgia; and obituary notices of the Rt. Rev. Nicholas Hamner Cobbs, D.D., Late Bishop of Alabama. "The Righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance." Montgomery: Barrett, Wimbish & Co., Steam Printers. 1861. 40p. 20½cm.

At head of title: "So He giveth His beloved sleep."

(Crandall 4133; Ellison 1272)

143

Cushman, George Francis

The Israelite without guile. A memorial sermon of the Right Reverend Nicholas Hamner Cobbs, D.D., preached before the convention of the Diocese of Alabama, May 4, 1861, by the Rev. Geo. F. Cushman, D.D. Rector of St. Luke's Church, Cahaba. Mobile: Farrow & Dennett, Prs., No. 3 North Water-St. 1861. 27p. 23cm.

(Crandall 2565)

144

Renfroe, John J. D.

"The battle is God's." A sermon preached before Wilcox's Brigade, on fast day, the 21st August, 1863, near Orange Court-House, Va. By J.J.D. Renfroe, Chaplain 10th Alabama Regiment. Richmond: Macfarlane & Fergusson. 1863. 27p. 22cm.

(Crandall 4186)

145

Tichenor, Isaac Taylor

Fast-day sermon, by Rev. I. T. Tichenor, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Montgomery; delivered before the General Assembly of the State of Alabama, on Friday, August 21, 1863, and

published by resolution of that body. Montgomery: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Printing Office. 1863. 6p. 2cm.
(Crandall 4195; Ellison 1374)

Church Publications

146

Baptist Church. Alabama. Alabama Association
Minutes of the forty-second annual session of the Alabama Baptist Association, held with the Baptist Church at Pine Level, Montgomery County, Alabama. On the 11th, 12th and 13th of October, 1861. And of the Bible Society of the Association, held at the same time and place. Selma: Williams & Cussons, Book and Job Printers, 1861. 24p. 21cm.
(Crandall 4290; Ellison 1254)

147

Baptist Church. Alabama. Alabama Association
Minutes [of the forty-third annual session] of the Alabama Baptist Association; held with the Greenville Baptist Church, Butler county, Ala., 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th October 1862. Tuskegee, Ala.: Printed at the Office of the South Western Baptist, 1862. 16p. 21cm.
(Crandall 4291; Ellison 1322)

148

Baptist Church. Alabama. Alabama Association
Minutes of the forty-fourth session of the Alabama Baptist Association, held with the Bethany Baptist Church, Lownds [sic] County, Alabama. From the ninth day to the twelfth day of October, inclusive, 1863. Montgomery, Ala., Printed at the Memphis Appeal Book and Job Printing House. 1863. 12p. 21cm.
(Crandall 4292; Ellison 1345)

149

Baptist Church. Alabama. Alabama Association
Minutes of the forty-fifth session of the Alabama Baptist Association, held with the Fort Deposit Baptist Church, Lowndes Co., Ala., on the 7th, 8th and 9th October, 1864. Montgomery: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office. 1864. 19p. 21cm.
(Crandall 4293; Ellison 1384)

150

Baptist Church. Alabama. Bethlehem Association
Minutes of the forty-fifth annual session of the Bethlehem Baptist Association; held with the Brooklyn Church, Conecuh County, Ala., from the 21st to 23rd Sept. 1861. Tuskegee, Ala.: Printed at the Office of the South Western Baptist, 1861. 14p. 21½cm.
(Crandall 4294; Ellison 1255)

151

Baptist Church. Alabama. Bethlehem Association
Minutes of the forty-sixth annual session of the Bethlehem Baptist Association; held with the Salem Baptist Church, Monroe County, Ala., from the 27th to the 29th Sept. 1862. Tuskegee, Ala.: Printed at the Office of the South Western Baptist, 1862. 8p. 21½cm.
(Crandall 4295; Ellison 1323)

152

Baptist Church. Alabama. Bethlehem Association
Minutes of the forty-eighth annual session of the Bethlehem Baptist Association; held with the Brooklyn Baptist Church, Conecuh County, Ala. From the 24th to the 26th of Sept. 1864. Claiborne, Ala.: Printed at the Southerner Book and Job Office. 1864. 9p. 20cm.
(Crandall 4296; Ellison 1385)

153

Baptist Church. Alabama. Beulah Baptist Association
Minutes of the twenty-fourth annual session of the Beulah Association held with the church at Hillabahatchie, Heard County, Ga. Commencing Saturday, Sept. 14th and ending Monday, Sept. 16 '61. Southern Republic Print. [Opelika, Ala., 1861?] 5p. 19cm.
(Crandall 4297; Ellison 1256)

154

*Baptist Church. Alabama. Beulah Baptist Association
Minutes of the twenty-fifth annual session of the Beulah Baptist Association, convened with the church at Concord, Randolph County, Ala., September 20, 21, 22, 1862. Columbus, Georgia: Daily Sun Steam Press Book and Job Office. 1862. 7p. 19cm.

155

*Baptist Church. Alabama. Beulah Baptist Association
Minutes of the twenty-sixth annual session of the Beulah Baptist Association, held with the church at Concord, Tallapoosa County, Alabama. On the 19th, 20th and 21st September, 1863. Columbus, Ga., Printed at the Times Office. [1863?] 8p. 19cm.

156

Baptist Church. Alabama. Beulah Baptist Association
Minutes of the twenty-seventh annual session of the Beulah Baptist Association held with the church at Canaan, Tallapoosa County, Ala., September 17, 18, 19, 1864. Dadeville, Alabama: Banner and Times Job Office, 1864. 4p. 22½cm.
(Crandall 4298; Ellison 1386)

157

Baptist Church. Alabama. Bigby Association
Minutes of the tenth anniversary of the Bigby Association, held with Mt. Sterling Church, Mt. Sterling, Choctaw County, Alabama, October 26th and 28th, 1861. Eutaw: Printed by Anderson & Monroe. 1862. 12[2]p. 21½cm.
(Harwell 1447::4298-1)

158

Baptist Church. Alabama. Bigby Association
Minutes of the eleventh anniversary of the Bigby Baptist Association, held with Christian Valley Church, Brewersville, Sumter County, Ala. October 25th and 27th, 1862. Printed by Anderson & Monroe, at the Office of the "Eutaw Whig and Observer." 1863. 7[2] p. 21cm.
(Harwell 1448::4298-2)

159

Baptist Church. Alabama. Cahaba Association
Minutes of the forty-seventh anniversary of the Cahaba Baptist Association, held with the Hopewell Church, Perry County, Ala., October 15, 16 and 17, 1864. Marion, Ala.: Heidt & Chapman, Printers, "Commonwealth" Office. 1864. 12p. 23cm.
(Crandall 4301; Ellison 1387)

160

Baptist Church. Alabama. East Alabama
Proceedings of the fifth annual session of the East Alabama
Baptist Convention, held with the Mount Zion Church, Calhoun
County, Ala., July 19th, 20th, 21st and 22nd, 1861. Marion,
Ala.: Printed at the Baptist Correspondent Office, 1861. 15p.
22cm.

(Harwell 1451::4304-3)

161

Baptist Church. Alabama. Montgomery. Second Baptist Church
Constitution, and rules of decorum, of the Second Baptist Church,
Montgomery, Alabama, together with the abstract of faith, cove-
nant, and rules concerning Gospel, also, a list of the officers and
members. Montgomery, Ala.: Montgomery Mail Steam Press
Book and Job Office, 1861. 16p. 23cm.

(Crandall 4305)

162

Baptist Church. Alabama. North River Association
Minutes of the 28th annual session of the North River Baptist
Association, held with Providence Church, Walker County, Ala.,
on the 27th, 28th and 29th days of Sept., 1862. Tuscaloosa:
Printed by Jno. F. Warren, "Observer" Office. 1862. 8p. 22½cm.
(Crandall 4307; Ellison 1325)

163

Baptist Church. Alabama. State Convention
Minutes of the thirty-ninth annual session of the Alabama Bap-
tist State Convention, held at Marion, Nov. 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th,
12th, 1861. Tuskegee, Ala.: Printed at the Office of the South
Western Baptist. 1861. 24[1]p. 22cm.

(Crandall 4309; Ellison 1258)

164

Baptist Church. Alabama. State Convention
Minutes of the fortieth annual session of the Alabama Baptist
State Convention, held at Selma, November 7th, 8th, 9th and
10th, 1862. Tuskegee, Ala.: Printed at the Office of the South
Western Baptist, 1862. 24p. 22cm.

(Ellison 1326; Harwell 1461::4309-1)

165

Baptist Church. Alabama. State Convention

Minutes of the forty-first annual session of the Alabama Baptist State Convention, held at Marion, November 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th, 1863. Selma, Alabama. Daily Dispatch Book and Job Printing Office. 1864. 22p. 21½cm.

(Crandall 4310; Ellison 1388)

166

Baptist Church. Alabama. Tuskaloosa Association

Minutes [of the twenty-ninth annual session of the Tuskaloosa Baptist Association commencing] Saturday, September 15, 1861. No imprint. 8p. 23cm.

Title-page missing.

(Ellison 1259)

167

Baptist Church. Alabama. Tuskaloosa Association

Minutes of the 30th annual session of the Tuskaloosa Baptist Association, held at Concord Meeting House, Fayette County, Ala., from the 20th to 22nd of September, 1862. No imprint. 8p. 22½cm.

Four pages, folded, uncut.

(Crandall 4311; Ellison 1327)

168

Methodist Episcopal Church. Alabama

Minutes of the Alabama Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, held in Columbus, Miss., Nov. 25-Dec. 2, 1863. Mobile, John Y. Thompson, Printer. 1863. 31p. 21cm.

(Crandall 4460; Ellison 1364)

169

Methodist Episcopal Church. Alabama. Mobile

Minutes of the Mobile Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, held in Tuskaloosa, Alabama, November 23-28, 1864. Mobile: Printed at the Office of "The Army Argus and Crisis." 1864. 23p. 21½cm.

(Crandall 4465; Ellison 1401)

170

Methodist Episcopal Church. Alabama. Montgomery Minutes of the Montgomery Conference, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, held in Tuskegee, Alabama, December 7th-13th, 1864. Montgomery: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office, 1864. 30[2]p. 21½cm.

(Crandall 4466)

171

Methodist Protestant Church. Alabama. Minutes of the thirty-fourth annual conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, for the Alabama District held at Autaugaville, Autauga County, Ala., commencing Nov. 6th, 1862. Montgomery, Ala.: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office. 1862. 19p. 22cm.

(Crandall 4472; Ellison 1336)

172

Presbyterian Church, Synod of Alabama. South Alabama Presbytery

Minutes of the special meeting of the Presbytery of South Alabama convened at Selma, July 1861: of the regular fall meeting at Valley Creek and of the adjourned meeting, at Cahaba, October 1861. Marion, Ala.: George C. Rogers, Printer. 1861. 15p. 21½cm.

(Crandall 4485; Ellison 1296)

173

Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of Alabama

Journal of the proceedings of the thirtieth annual convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Alabama, held in St. John's Church, Montgomery, on the 2d, 3rd, 4th and 6th of May, A.D. 1861. Mobile: Farrow and Dennett, Book and Job Printers, No. 3 North Water Street. 1861. 48[1]p. 21½cm.

(Crandall 4523; Ellison 1298)

174

Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of Alabama

Journal of the proceedings of an adjourned meeting of the thir-

tieth annual convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Alabama, held in St. Paul's Church, Selma, on Thursday, 21st November, 1861. Montgomery, Ala.: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office, 1863. 124[1]p. 21½cm. With this is bound: Journal of the proceedings of the thirty-first annual convention, 1862, and of the thirty-second annual council, 1863. Separate title pages.

(Crandall 4525; Ellison 1369)

175

Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of Alabama
Journal of the proceedings of the thirty-first annual convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Alabama. Held in Christ Church, Mobile, on the 1st and 2d of May, 1862. Montgomery: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Printing Office. 1863. p.7-45. 21½cm.

Bound with: Journal of the proceedings of an adjourned meeting of the thirtieth annual convention, 1861.

(Crandall 4524)

176

Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of Alabama
Journal of the proceedings of the thirty-second annual council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Alabama. Held in St. Paul's Church, Greensboro; on the 7th, 8th and 9th of May, 1863. Montgomery: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office, 1864. 30[2]p. 21½cm.

Bound with: Journal of the proceedings of an adjourned meeting of the thirtieth annual convention, 1861. Separate title page.

TRACTS

177

"Government or no government," or, The question of state allegiance. A tract for churchmen. Mobile: Farrow & Dennett, Book and Job Printers, No. 3. North Water Street. 1861. 16p. 23cm.

PART VI

CHARITABLE AND FRATERNAL PUBLICATIONS
AND ALMANACS

Almanacs

178

B.B. Davis' Alabama Almanac, for the year of our Lord, 1863, being the third after leap year, and third of southern independence. Containing much valuable information. Montgomery: B. B. Davis, Bookseller and Stationer. 1863. 56p.

(Crandall 4976; Ellison 1342)

179

. . . The Confederate States almanac, and repository of useful knowledge. For the year 1864; being bissextile or leap year; the fourth of southern independence; and, until July 4th, the eighty-eighth of the independence of the United States. Astronomical calculations for the latitude and meridian of Augusta, Ga., and Richmond, Va., by T.P. Ashmore, Americus, Ga. Compiled by H.C. Clarke, Mobile, Ala. 119 [1]p. 19cm. (Preface date 1863.)

At head of title: Vol. third.] [First series.

(Crandall 4990; Ellison 1344)

180

Confederate States Almanac for the year of our Lord 1864 being bissextile, or leap year, and the 4th year of the independence of the Confederate States of America. Calculations made at University of Alabama. Published for the trade by Burke, Boykin & Co., Macon, Ga. J. W. Blandin, Selma, Ala. 20[4]p. 17½cm.

(Crandall 4994; Ellison 1382)

181

. . . Clarke's Confederate Almanac for the year of our Lord 1864. Being bissextile or leap year, and the fourth of southern independence; and (until the fourth of July,) the eighty-eighth of the independence of the United States. . . H. C. Clarke, Publish-

er and Bookseller, Mobile, Ala. Singer's Steam Printing Establishment, Augusta, Ga. [1863] 22[2]p. 18½ cm.

At head of title: Cheap edition.
(Crandall 4981)

182

Confederate States Almanac for the year of our Lord 1864 being bissextile, or leap year, and the 4th year of the independence of the Confederate States of America. Calculations made at University of Alabama. Published for the trade by Burke, Boykin & Co., Macon, Ga. S.H. Goetzl, Mobile, Ala. [1863] 20[4]p. 17½cm.

(Crandall 4996)

183

J. B. Clark's Alabama Almanac, for the year of our Lord, 1863, being the third after leap year, an third of southern independence. Containing much valuable information. Selma, J. B. Clark, Bookseller and Stationer. 1863. 56[1]p. 21cm.

(Crandall 5023; Ellison 1343)

Fraternal Organizations

184

Freemasons. Alabama. Grand Council

Proceedings of the Grand Council of Alabama, at the annual assembly, held in the city of Montgomery, commencing December 6th, 1860. Montgomery, Barrett, Wimbish & Co., Steam Printers and Binders. 1861. 40p. 23cm.

Cover-title has 'December 6th', and adds 'Ala.' to imprint.
(Crandall 5070; Ellison 1276)

185

Freemasons. Alabama. Grand Council

Proceedings of the Grand Council of Alabama, at the annual assembly, held in the city of Montgomery, commencing December 8th, 1864. Montgomery, Ala., "Daily Montgomery Ledger," Job Office. 1865. 16p. 21cm.

(Crandall 5071; Ellison 1416)

186

Freemasons. Alabama. Grand Lodge

The constitution of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Alabama, adopted at its annual communication, Dec. 4, 1854; (and as since amended,) to which is added the old charges, the old regulations, the ancient mode of constituting a lodge, the ancient constitutions, and the resolutions, edicts, and authoritative reports, adopted from time to time by the Grand Lodge, together with forms for returns, credentials, petitions, etc., etc., etc. Montgomery: Barrett, Wimbish & Co., Printers and Binders. 1861. 91p. 22½cm.

(Harwell 1731::5071-1)

187

Freemasons. Alabama. Grand Chapter

Proceedings of the annual communication of the Grand Lodge of Alabama, held in the city of Montgomery, commencing December 3rd, 1860. Montgomery, Ala.: Barrett, Wimbish & Co., Steam Printers and Binders. 1861. 64p. [Appendix—96p.] 20½cm.

(Crandall 5072)

188

Freemasons. Alabama. Grand Chapter

Proceedings of the annual communication of the Grand Lodge of Alabama, held in the city of Montgomery, commencing December 2nd, 1861. Montgomery, Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Printing Office. 1862. 47p. [Appendix—55p.] 20½cm.

(Crandall 5073; Ellison 1330)

189

Freemasons. Alabama. Grand Chapter

Proceedings of the annual communication of the Grand Lodge of Alabama, held in the city of Montgomery, commencing December 1, 1862. Montgomery: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Printing Office. 1863. 49p. [Appendix—45p.] 20½cm.

(Crandall 5074)

190

Freemasons. Alabama. Grand Chapter

Proceedings of the annual communication of the Grand Lodge of Alabama, held in the city of Montgomery, commencing December 7, 1863. Montgomery: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office. 1864. 39p. [Appendix—18p.] 20½cm.

(Harwell 1732::5074-1)

191

Freemasons. Alabama. Grand Lodge

The speculative temple. An address delivered by Bro. John A. Lodor, of Cahaba, before the Grand Lodge of the State of Alabama, in the Masonic Hall. In the city of Montgomery, on Tuesday evening, Dec. 3, 1861. And of which 3000 extra copies were ordered to be printed. Montgomery: Advertiser Book and Job Office. 1862. 16p. 22½cm.

(Crandall 5075; Ellison 1332)

192

Freemasons. Alabama. Halo Lodge, No. 5

In memoriam. An address, commemorative of their fraternal dead of 1860: Delivered before Halo Lodge, No. 5, by John A. Lodor, Dec. 27, 1860. Cahaba: Printed by C. E. Haynes & Co., at the Cahaba Gazette Job Office. 1861. 20[6]p. 21cm.

(Crandall 5076; Ellison 1284)

193

Freemasons. Alabama. Halo Lodge, No. 5

The fraternal dead of 1861, an address, delivered before Halo Lodge, No. 5, Cahaba, Ala., St. John the Evangelist's day, December 27, 1861, by the Rev. Geo. F. Cushman, D.D., Chaplain to the Lodge. 1862?. 18p. 23cm.

(Crandall 5077)

194

Freemasons. Alabama. Halo Lodge, No. 5

The fraternal dead of 1862, an address, delivered before Halo Lodge, No. 5, Cahaba, Ala., St. John the Evangelist's day, December 27, 1862, by James L. Evans Esq. 1863?. 24p. 23cm.

195

Freemasons. Alabama. Halo Lodge, No. 5

The fraternal dead of 1863, an address, delivered before Halo Lodge, No. 5, Cahaba, Ala., St. John the Evangelist's day, December 27, 1863, by the Rev. H. A. M. Henderson. 1864?. 20p. 23cm.

(Crandall 5078)

196

Freemasons. Alabama. Knights Templar. Grand Commandery Proceedings of a convocation of Knights Templar and of the Grand Commandery of Knights Templar, and the appendant orders of the state of Alabama. First conclave held at the city of Montgomery, December 1st, A.D. 1860, A.O. 742. Montgomery, Ala. Daily Post Book and Job Office, 1861. 68p. 22cm.

(Crandall 5079; Ellison 1275)

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

ADVOCATE AND AMERICAN, Troy

1861: July 18, Aug. 8, Sept. 12, Oct. 19, 24, Dec. 5

1862: Jan. 2, 30, Feb. 13

ALABAMA BEACON, Greensboro

1861: Jan. 4-25, Feb. 22-Apr. 12, 26-Sept. 20, Oct. 11-Dec. 13

1862: Jan. 3-May 2, 16-June 13, July 4-Aug. 22, Sept. 5-Dec. 26

1863: Jan. 23, 30, Feb. 20, 27, Mar. 27-May 15, 29-June 5, 19-Aug. 14, Sept. 4, 25-Oct. 23

1864: Jan. 8-Feb. 5, Apr. 8-22, May 6-20, June 24, July 29, Nov. 4

1865: Jan. 6-Apr. 5, 21

ALABAMA REPORTER, Talladega

1862: June 5

1864: Jan. 7, 28-Feb. 11, 25-Mar. 10, 24, Apr. 7, 21, May 26, June 2, 30, Aug. 18, Sept. 15, 22, Oct. 27, Nov. 3

June 5, 1862 bound in 1864

ALABAMA STATE SENTINEL, Selma

1861: Mar. 13

1862: Feb. 16, 23-Mar. 20, May 11

1863: Mar. 8

See DAILY STATE SENTINEL

THE ALABAMA WHIG, Eutaw

1861: Feb. 14

See The Whig & Observer and Eutaw Whig & Observer

THE AMERICAN COTTON PLANTER, AND THE SOIL OF THE SOUTH. Montgomery, Alabama, Advertiser Book and Job Office. N. B. Cloud, editor

v. 5, no. 1-3, 5-6, Jan.-Mar., May-June 1861

Cover title: Dr. Cloud's Southern Rural Magazine. The Cotton Planter and Soil of the South

THE ATHENS HERALD, Athens

1861: May 24

THE BAPTIST CORRESPONDENT, Marion

1861: July 31, Oct. 16

THE CANEBRAKE HERALD, Uniontown

1861: Feb. 1

CLARKE COUNTY DEMOCRAT, Grove Hill

1861: Jan. 3-Dec. 26

1862: Jan. 2-Sept. 11

1863: Jan. 1-Dec. 24

1864: Jan. 7-Dec. 29

1865: Jan. 5-Apr. 13

DAILY STATE SENTINEL, Selma

1862: Jan. 8, July 19

See ALABAMA STATE SENTINEL

DAILY CONFEDERATION, Montgomery1861: Jan. 20, 25, 26, 30, 31, Feb. 1, 3, 7, 8, 12, 13, 17, 19, Mar.
12, 14**THE DAILY HUNTSVILLE CONFEDERATE, Huntsville**

1863: Sept. 8, 9, 15, Oct. 6, Nov. 8, 9, 24, 26, Dec. 5

1864: Jan. 27, Feb. 13

See also THE HUNTSVILLE CONFEDERATE

DAILY MISSISSIPPIAN, Selma

1864: July 7, Aug. 27, Nov. 1

See also SUNDAY MISSISSIPPIAN

DEMOCRATIC WATCHTOWER, Talladega1861: Jan. 16-May 29, June 12, 26, July 10, 24, Aug. 14-28,
Sept. 4-18, Oct. 9, 16, Nov. 6, 27, Dec. 4, 11, 251862: Jan. 8-29, Feb. 12-26, Mar. 12, Apr. 2, 9, 23, June 11-July
2, 15-Aug. 12, Sept. 23-Oct. 7, 28, Nov. 4-18, Dec. 2, 91863: Jan. 6, 13, 27, Feb. 18, Mar. 4-18, Apr. 15, June 17, July
1, 8, 22, Aug. 26, Sept. 16-30, Oct. 28-Nov. 11, 25, Dec.
2, 231864: Jan. 20, Feb. 3-17, Mar. 9, 16, 30, May 18, June 1, 29,
July 12, Aug. 2-30, Sept. 13-27, Oct. 11-26, Nov. 2-
Dec. 14

1865: Jan. 18, 25, Apr. 13

EUFAULA EXPRESS, Eufaula

1864: July 11

EUTAW WHIG & OBSERVER, Eutaw

1864: Apr. 28, June 9, 23, July 28

1865: Jan. 5, Mar. 9

See THE ALABAMA WHIG and THE WHIG AND OBSERVER

FLORENCE GAZETTE, Florence

1861: Jan. 2-Dec. 25

1862: Jan. 1-Apr. 9, Dec. 10-31

1863: Jan. 7-Jan. 31

Note: Jan. 7, 10, 17, 1863 misdated 1862

HUNTSVILLE CONFEDERATE, Huntsville

1863: Jan. 28, Mar. 26

See also DAILY HUNTSVILLE CONFEDERATE

THE INDEPENDENT AMERICAN, Troy

1861: Mar. 13, 27, May 1, 22, 29

INDEPENDENT MONITOR, Tuscaloosa

1861: Feb. 1, Mar. 29, Apr. 5, May 10, 17, 31, July 12

THE INDEPENDENT OBSERVER, Eutaw

1861: Jan. 11, May 17

JACKSONVILLE REPUBLICAN, Jacksonville

1861: Jan. 3-Feb. 21, Mar. 7, 28-May 1, 16-Aug. 8, Sept. 12, 26, Oct. 10-Dec. 26

1862: Jan. 2, 16, 20-July 3, 17-Sept. 4, 18-Dec. 4, 25

1863: Jan. 1-Apr. 2, 16-23, May 2-July 18, Aug. 8-29, Sept. 12-26, Oct. 17, 24, 31, Nov. 14, 21, Dec. 5, 19-26

1864: Jan. 2, 9, 23, 30, Feb. 6-20, Mar. 12, 26-Apr. 16, May 7-21, June 4, July 9, 23-Aug. 6, 20-Sept. 29, Oct. 20, 27, Nov. 17, Dec. 8, 15, 29

1865: Jan. 19, 26, Feb. 9, Mar. 16

THE LINDEN JEFFERSONIAN, Linden

1861: Mar. 27

THE MEMPHIS DAILY APPEAL (Memphis, Tenn.), Montgomery

1864: Sept. 20-22, 24, 26, 28, 30, Oct. 2, 3, 6, 7, 9-12, 14, 16, 18,
25, Nov. 2, 5, 8, 11, 16-19, 23, Dec. 16

1865: Feb. 16, 28, Mar. 2, 10, 30

MOBILE ADVERTISER AND REGISTER, Mobile

1861: June 5-Oct. 31

1862: Jan. 18-Dec. 28

1863: Jan. 1-Dec. 31

1864: Jan. 1-May 31, June 14, July 14

1865: Mar. 19

MOBILE DAILY NEWS, Mobile

1865: Apr. 14

MOBILE DAILY TRIBUNE, Mobile

1862: Sept. 29

1864: Mar. 26

MOBILE EVENING NEWS, Mobile

1865: Mar. 20

MOBILE EVENING TELEGRAPH, Mobile

1862: Feb. 27

MOBILE WEEKLY ADVERTISER, Mobile

1861: May 18

MOBILE WEEKLY REGISTER, Mobile

1861: Feb. 16, May 4

MONTGOMERY DAILY ADVERTISER, Montgomery

1861: Jan. 12 (extra), Feb. 19, Mar. 9, 12, 15, 18-21, 23-27,
30, April 1, 4-6, 8, 13, 15, 17-19, 23-26

1862: Jan. 5, 30, Apr. 16, 30, May 23, Nov. 5, Dec. 18, 21

1863: Nov. 1, Dec. 5, 8

1864: Apr. 28, May 5, 6, 10, 12, 14, 15, 18-25, 27-June 1, 3,
4, 8-11, 13-15, 18, 20, 27, 28, 30-July 2, 9, 11, 12, 15, 21,
22, 25-27, Aug. 5, 8-13, 15-18, Sept. 1-4, 6-11, 14, 18-23,
28, Oct. 3, 15, 20, 21, 23, 24, 28, Nov. 21, 25, 29, Dec. 5

1865: Jan. 3, 27, 30, Mar. 12, Apr. 18

Note: Sept. 2, 7, 10, 1864 has morning and evening editions

MONTGOMERY DAILY MAIL, Montgomery

1861: Feb. 11, Apr. 26

1862: Oct. 14-20, 22, 24, 25, 27-30, Nov. 8, 14-28, 30-Dec. 7, 9-14, 16-31

1863: Jan. 1-Feb. 15, 17-21, 23-Apr. 11, 15-26, 29-May 2, 5, 7, 9-18, 20-June 14, 17-20, 23, 25-July 2, 4-8, 11-17, 19, 22, 24-26

1864: Jan. 2-4, 7-9, 13-16, 19-21, 23, 29-Feb. 5, 7, 12-14, 20, Mar. 3, 8, 15, 16, 18, 20-27, 31, Apr. 6, 7, 13-Apr. 22, 27, 29-May 1, 4, 6, 8-10, 12-18, 20-25, 27, 29, 31-June 4, 7-10, 12-17, 19-24, 28-July 2, 5-17, 20, 21, 23-Aug. 1, 3-5, 7, 9, 11-13, 16-20, 23, 26-Sept. 2, 4-17, 20-22, 24, 27, 28, 30, Oct. 4, 7, 8, 10, 13-20, 22, 25-Nov. 2, 4, 8, 9, 11, 13, 16, 18-30, Dec. 2, 3, 6, 9-11, 13, 15-20, 22, 23, 27-30

1865: Jan. 3, 4, 10, 13, Feb. 7-9, 18, Mar. 1, 3, 5, 8, 15, 21, 29, Apr. 2, 11, 24, 26, 28, 29

Noon editions: Apr. 4, May 20, June 7, 1864; Apr. 17, 1865

MONTGOMERY DAILY POST, Montgomery

1861: Jan. 16, Feb. 13, 16-22, Mar. 12, Apr. 5, 23-May 13, 15, 16, 18-June 21, 24, 26-Sept. 16, 19-25, 27, 30, Oct. 1-4

MONTGOMERY WEEKLY ADVERTISER, Montgomery

1861: Jan. 2-16, 30-Sept. 18

1862: Mar. 19, Oct. 1, 8, 22-Dec. 24

1863: Jan. 7-Mar. 4, 18-Apr. 29, May 13-June 17, July 1, 15-Aug. 12, 26-Oct. 28, Nov. 11-Dec. 30

1864: Jan. 6-Sept. 21, Dec. 28

MONTGOMERY WEEKLY MAIL, Montgomery

1861: Jan. 4-Apr. 26

1862: May 10-Sept. 1, Nov. 8, 15, 29-Dec. 31

1863: Jan. 7-Sept. 30, Oct. 15-28, Nov. 11, 25, Dec. 2, 16, 23

1864: Jan. 6, 19-Apr. 26

MONTGOMERY WEEKLY POST, Montgomery

1861: Jan. 2-May 22, June 5-July 17

THE OBSERVER, Tuscaloosa

1864: Aug. 3

See also TUSCALOOSA OBSERVER

THE ST. CLAIR DIAMOND, Ashville

1861: Jan. - - (date missing)

THE SCHOOL TEACHER, Montgomery, Ala., W. S. Barton, editor, v. 2, no. 9, Apr. 1861**SELMA DAILY REPORTER**

See SELMA MORNING REPORTER

SELMA EVENING DISPATCH, Selma

1864: Jan. 13

SELMA EVENING REPORTER

See SELMA MORNING REPORTER

SELMA MORNING DISPATCH, Selma

1863: May 24, Aug. 23, Nov. 6, 18, Dec. 20

1864: June 17, July 27

SELMA MORNING REPORTER, Selma

1861: Apr. 4, 6, 10, 11, 13, 16, 19, 22, 25, May 2, June 1, 2, 4, 15, July 25-27, 30, 31, Oct. 7, 12, Nov. 1, 4-12, 19-20, 25, 26, 30, Dec. 7, 9, 18, 21, 30

1862: Jan. 1-3, 6, 7, 9-11, 14, 23, 27-29, 31, Feb. 4, 10, 11, 17, 19, 21, 22, 25, 27, Mar. 3-11, 13-14, 19, Apr. 10, 21, May 12-16, 20, 23, 25, 27-June 3, 5-9, 13, 17-20, 23-25, 27-July 3, 8, 10-12, 14, 16, 17, 21, 22, 24-26, 31-Aug. 5, 7-9, 11-18, 22, 25-27, Sept. 8, 9, 11, 15, 29, Oct. 1, 2, 4, 9, 10, 20-30, Nov. 1, 4, 5, 7, 10-15, 20, 21, 25, 29, Dec. 2, 4, 6, 9, 11-13, 16, 18, 22, 29, 30

1863: Jan. 1, 2, 5, 6, 8-15, 19-22, 24, 27, 30, Feb. 6, 7, 12-16, 19, 20, 24, 25, 27, 28, Mar. 3, 4, 7, 16, 18, 23, 31, June 17, 27-29, July 1-3, 6, 7, 9-21, 23, 24, 26, 29-Aug. 7, 9-14, 19-21, 26, 27, 29, Sept. 4, 5, 9, 12, 15-22, 24-26, 30, Oct. 20, 23-28, Nov. 6, 7, 10, 12, Dec. 24

1864: Jan. 7, 8, 12, 13, Feb. 1, 5, 11-13, 17-23, Mar. 4, 8-11, 23, 26, 29-31, Apr. 2, 5-8, 11-16, 18-20, 22, 23, 25-30, May

2-7, 9-14, 16, 17, 23, 26-30, June 1-7, 9-13, 15-20, 22-27, 29, 30, July 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, 19, 22, 23, 26-29, Aug. 13, 17, 24, 27, Sept. 1-7, 9, 12, 14-17, 30, Nov. 2, 4, 8-11, 13, 18, Dec. 8

1865: Feb. 7, Mar. 28

Note: The title was changed to SELMA DAILY REPORTER between June 15 and July 25, 1861. The title was changed back to SELMA MORNING REPORTER Aug. 11, 1862. On May 27, 1864 and June 2, 1864, there were MORNING and EVENING EDITIONS. There was an EVENING edition on March 28, 1865.

SOUTH WESTERN BAPTIST, Tuskegee

1861: Jan. 3-Dec. 26

1862: Jan. 9-Dec. 25

1863: Jan. 15-Dec. 24

1864: Jan. 7-Dec. 22

1865: Jan. 5-Apr. 13

Note: Jan. 3, 1861 misdated 1860

SOUTHERN ADVERTISER, Troy

1861: July 24, Oct. 2, 9, Dec. 4, 25

1862: Jan. 22, 29, Feb. 5, 12

1863: June 24, July 15

THE SOUTHERN ADVOCATE, Huntsville

1862: Mar. 26 (lower part of paper missing)

SOUTHERN CHAMPION, Claiborne

1861: Jan. 4, 18, Feb. 8-Mar. 1, 15-Apr. 26

THE SOUTHERN HOME JOURNAL, Union Springs

1861: Nov. 6

SOUTHERN MESSENGER, Greenville

1861: Feb. 20, 27, Mar. 6, 13, 20, Apr. 3, 10, 17, May 1, June 26, July 3

SOUTHERN REPUBLIC, Opelika

1861: Jan. 5-Dec. 21

1862: Jan. 5, 11, 18, Feb. 1, 8, 15, 22, Mar. 1, 22, 29, Apr. 5,

12, 19, 26, May 3

Jan. 5, 11, 1862 misdated 1861

THE SPECTATOR, Wetumpka

1861: June 2

See also THE WETUMPKA SPECTATOR

SPIRIT OF THE SOUTH, Eufaula

1861: Aug. 27, Sept. 10

STATES RIGHTS ADVOCATE, Troy

1861: Feb. 28, June 20

SUNDAY MISSISSIPPIAN, Selma

1863: Dec. 27

1864: Jan. 24, Oct. 30, Nov. 20, 27, Dec. 4, 11

See also DAILY MISSISSIPPIAN

THE TRI-WEEKLY COMMONWEALTH, Marion

1861: Aug. 17

TUSCALOOSA OBSERVER, Tuscaloosa

1861: Feb. 20, Mar. 13, Apr. 24, June 5, 12, July 10, 24

See also THE OBSERVER

THE UNITED SOUTH, Abbeville

1861: Mar. 2

UNIVERSALIST HERALD, Montgomery

1861: Jan. 4, 11, 18, 25, Feb. 1, 8, 22, Mar. 1

WEEKLY ADVERTISER & REGISTER, Mobile

1863: June 27, July 18, Aug. 1, 22, Sept. 26, Oct. 17, Nov. 21,
Dec. 5, 19, 26

1864: Jan. 2, 23, Feb. 27, Mar. 19

1865: Mar. 4

See also MOBILE ADVERTISER & REGISTER

THE WEEKLY COMMONWEALTH, Marion

1861: Aug. 2

WEEKLY ISSUE, Selma

1861: Feb. 27, Mar. 13

WEEKLY MONTGOMERY CONFEDERATION, Montgomery

1861: Jan. 4-Feb. 1, 15-Mar. 1, 15, 22, Apr. 19, 26, June 14,
28-July 26, Aug. 9, 16

THE WEST ALABAMIAN, Carrollton

1861: Feb. 6, 27, Mar. 6, 27, May 15, June 5, Aug. 7, 14, 28,
Oct. 30-Nov. 20, Dec. 23

THE WETUMPKA SPECTATOR, Wetumpka

1861: May 3, 10, 17, 24

See also THE SPECTATOR

THE WHIG & OBSERVER, Eutaw

1862: July 24, Oct. 9

1863: Apr. 30, Sept. 17, Oct. 29

1864: Jan. 28

See also THE ALABAMA WHIG and EUTAW WHIG & OB-
SERVER

A STORY OF COMPANY D, 4TH ALABAMA INFANTRY
REGIMENT, C.S.A.

By

JAMES G. HUDSON*

“CHAPLAIN & TREASURER”

Transcript from Thomas Hudson, Newberry, South Carolina,
dated May 1, 1899 ,to Alabama Department of Archives and
History

Edited by Alma H. Pate, Military Archivist

Department of Archives and History

Union Town Ala. May 1, 1861

A diary of the Canebrake Rifle Guards kept during their services in the war between the Confederate States of America and Abraham Lincoln commenced in the early part of the year 1861. This diary is kept by James G. Hudson, who goes with the Company in the capacity of Chaplain and Treasurer of the Company.

The Canebrake Rifle Guards from Union Town, Perry County, Alabama, tendered their services to Gov. Moore of Alabama (under his call for volunteers) on the 18th day of April 1861, and were promptly received and accepted. On the 23rd of April, Capt. Clarke received a dispatch from Gov. Moore instructing him to report his Company in Montgomery on Friday the 26th instant.

*James G. Hudson, Private, age 29, is shown by an original Record Roll of Company D, 4th Alabama Infantry Regiment, to have enlisted April 25, 1861, in Perry County, Alabama. The record shows he was discharged in October, 1861, at Camp Law, Virginia. This man was born in Virginia; was married at the outbreak of the war; was a merchant and his official residence was Uniontown.

Official Records show:

The *Canebrake Rifle Guards* was organized in March 1861,

by Richard Clarke, Captain of the outfit. It later became Company D, 4th Alabama Infantry Regiment. The Fourth became a part of General B. E. Bee's Brigade and took a prominent part in the battle of Manassas Junction, where General Bee was killed. He was succeeded by General W. H. Whiting. The regiment was engaged in battles at Cold Harbor; Malvern Hill; Sharpsburg; Seven Pines. After Gettysburg, the Fourth moved with Longstreet's Corps and was at Chicamauga; Knoxville; Spottsylvania and the Wilderness. It surrendered 202 men at Appomattox, General Perry of Macon having been in command of the brigade for nearly a year. Of 1422 men on its rolls, about 240 perished in battle, nearly 100 died of disease, and 408 were discharged or transferred.

In 1916, Mrs. James Spence, who was originally Anna C. Price of Uniontown, presented to the Department of Archives and History the original muster roll of the Canebrake Rifle Guards; a compilation printed on silk and sold by the ladies of Uniontown in 1863 to raise money for clothing needed by the men. Her presentation statement is filed in the department's military archives division, together with two items—one a letter of request to Governor A. B. Moore for commissions for the officers of the Guard, and the other is a statement, dated March 20, 1861, directed to the Secretary of State to issue the commissions, this being signed by the Governor (Moore). P. H. Brittan, Secretary of State, endorsed the paper (issued April 20th) with his initials "P.H.B."

Executive Department

Montgomery, Ala. April 20, 1861

Secy of State will issue commissions to

Richard Clarke Captain

Thos. K. Coleman 1st Lieut

Leph R. Terrell Jr. 2 "

D. W. Pitts Jr. 3 "

of the "Canebrake Rifle Guards"

A.V.C.

Perry Co.

A. B. Moore

Issued 20th April

P.H.B 30th

Uniontown, March 16th, 1861

To His Excellency

Gov. A. B. Moore:

I am instructed by Capt. Richard Clarke of the Canebrake Rifle Guards to report the result of the election of Officers held in pursuance of your orders on the 2nd inst. as follows, to wit:

Richard Clarke,	Captain
Thomas K. Coleman,	1st Lieutenant
Legh R. Terrell,	2nd "
D. W. Pitts,	3d "

and to ask you to forward the commissions.

Bush Jones

Q.M. of Canebrake Rifle Guards

Ext. Dept

19 March 1861

The Sec of State will issue the commissions as requested

A. B. Moore

On Thursday morning the 25th inst the company left Union Town for Selma with 84 men rank and file. At Selma, Austin Aycocke and Robert Mitchel joined the company. The company left Selma on the Steamer Senator for Montgomery on Friday morning at 9 o'clock, in company with the Governor's Guards and Magnolia Cadets of Selma, Ala. The three companies arrived at Montgomery at 7 o'clock P.M. and were kept standing in the street nearly two hours before they could find any one to direct them where to go. The company were finally ordered to march to the armory of the Independent Rifles, where they had to sleep on the floor without blankets. (Note—Everything is in perfect confusion in the different departments in Montgomery, it is next to impossible to procure arms, equipments, blankets or provisions. A number of our men could not be furnished with a blanket.) The company left Montgomery for Dalton, Georgia, on Sunday morning the 28th at 8 o'clock with four new recruits added to their number, viz. James Curry, George Sayres, William F. Terrell and David Trowell. The line of Rail Road from Montgomery to Dalton was lined with crowds of anxious and enthusiastic spectators who welcomed the soldiers with manifestations of patriotic devotion. A large crowd of men, women and children and negroes were collected at the Depot in West Point, Georgia, who received us with every demonstration of patriotism and heartfelt enthusiasm. Cheer after cheer rent the air, the ladies waved their handkerchiefs and showered hundreds of bouquets on the heads of soldiers. At every town and crossroad in Georgia the same patriotic feelings were manifested. At Atlanta the people covered acres of ground. We arrived at Dalton on Monday morning at 2 o'clock and were quartered in the second story of a large brick building, which was unfinished, consequently open and very cold and disagreeable. The soldiers had to lie on the floor, a number of them without blankets, the weather clear but quite cold. A number of men caught cold and were sick for several days from the exposure. Monday, April 29th—pitched our tents and went regularly into camp life. William Terrell, Dr. Kitchel, William H. Hudson, John D. Buch and several others on the sick list. 30th—several others sick from exposure. Nothing of interest occurring. A negro boy belonging to Hungerford let a pistol fall out a belt, which caused it to explode, inflicting a flesh wound through the negro's arm.

May 1st. The different companies all turned out on parade (Eight in number) and marched through the principal streets of the city to Methodist Church, where the ladies and citizens of Dalton generally welcomed them and entertained them in a manner calculated to inspire the soldier with patriotism, and nerve his arm for the contest. A large arch of evergreens was erected at each corner of the front of the church under which the soldiers had to pass. On one arch was a banner with the motto—Welcome soldiers of Alabama. On the other arch a flag with the motto—God protect and defend the 4th Regiment of Alabama Volunteers. The regiment was drawn up, by companies, in front of the church, and each company addressed by a young lady, to which suitable responses were made by some member of the Company, selected for the occasion. The address to the Canebrake R. Guards was delivered by Miss Hardin and was responded to by Bush Jones. This ceremony being over, a number of gentlemen were called upon who responded with patriotic speeches, after which, the regiment was marched back to quarters.

May 2nd. At eleven o'clock an election was held by the regiment for field officers. On casting up the ballots it was ascertained that Capt. Egbert Jones of North Alabama was elected Col. of the Regiment; Capt. Law, of the Tuskegee Zouaves was elected Lieut. Col. and the Hon. Charles Scott of California, Major. At 9 o'clock at night the company received orders to march the next day at eleven o'clock for Lynchburg, Va. Three new recruits, viz. F. E. Stith of Mobile, Robt H. Henly and P. K. McMiller of Marengo Co. Ala., joined the company at Dalton. Note—The citizens of Dalton treated the soldiers with marked attention and kindness; the ladies were particularly kind and attentive furnishing the soldiers with many useful articles of clothing and food. The ladies of Dalton will long live in the memory of the Canebrake R. Guards. May 3rd. Struck our tents at 10 o'clock A.M., marched to the Depot and took our departune (in company with the whole regiment) for Lynchburg Va., numbering 96, men, rank and file, as follows—Officers: Richard Clarke, Capt.; T. K. Coleman, 1st Lieut.; L. R. Terrell, 2nd Lieut; D. W. Pitts, 3rd Lieut; W. O. Hudson, 1st Sergeant; 2nd Wm. H. Hudson; 3rd J. T. Walker; 4th F. M. De-

lonne; 5th J. D. Buch; 1st Corporal, Wm. H. Long; 2nd W. A. Chambers; 3rd C. A. Terrell; 4th J. Edgar Ware.—Privates—Pat Y. Adams; Austin C. Aycocke; E. W. Booker; Wm. H. Baptist; Saml. T. Chambers; Edward F. Christian; A. H. Cunningham; Thos L. Christian; James Curry; R. W. Darden; Thos. B. Edwards; J. H. Elkin; T. D. Forniss; T. K. Forniss; J. D. Fowler; Edward F. Gouldman; W. W. Gray; J. W. Harriss; Josiah W. Harrison; James A. Harwood; Wm. H. Hill; J. Warren Hudson; Thomas Hudson; James G. Hudson, Chaplain and Treasurer; Wm. H. Hungerford; Walter Hungerford; J. R. Hutchinson; Robt. H. Henly; Bush Jones; Joel T. Jones; William B. Jones; S. T. Jackson; F. N. Kitchell; Benj. N. Locket; J. W. Manix; Geo. F. Marable; G. L. Markham; J. McIntosh; Jas. D. Monaghan; T. S. Monaghan; A. J. Moneghan Lewis A. Morgan; Jas. H. Montgomery; Josiah J. Murphy; Robt. Mitchel; P. K. McMiller; R. W. Nicholson; G. S. Nicholson; S. L. Norwood; T. J. Norton; Wm. E. Tegram, Surgeon; Sam. S. Tichering; John D. Fitts; James Philips; Walton Turlee, William T. Tope; D. A. Torliens; David Trowell; Thomas Ramy; Jas. M. Redding; N. T. Richardson; Henry W. Saunders; Cap Saunders; G. W. Sherman; Lou A. Simms; J. R. Shumake; Robt. N. Smith; B. F. Steele; George Sayre; F. Eppes Stith; E. W. Thompson; A Wood Tinsley; George W. Thomas; Wm. F. Terrell; Tim Walton; Andrew Walker; Mims Walker; Anderson Walker; Wm. H. Ware; Thomas White; J. T. Wilson; T. I. Whitt; Fulton W. West. The company in passing through Tennessee were hailed with enthusiasm in some places, in others with marked coolness. Several Union Flags were seen flying. Old Andy Johnson was making Union speeches along the line of the Rail Road. At Knoxville, a large and enthusiastic crowd greeted the soldiers with many marks of patriotic feelings. Knoxville is getting right. May 4th—Arrived at Bristol at 10 o'clock and remained until five. 5th—Arrived at Lynchburg at 10 o'clock and marched directly to our quarters, about two miles from the city, pitched our tents and entered again upon camp life. Bush Jones, Wm. F. Terrell, Dr. Kitchell and Solomon F. Jackson quite sick. Late in the evening it commenced raining, which continued during the night, rendering it extremely disagreeable and unpleasant.

6th—Cloudy and rainy; a number of the men sick from colds.

William Terrell and Jackson quite sick. Thos. Ramy taken sick today.

7th—Terrell and Jackson better; Ramy very sick, several others on the sick list. Today all the companies belonging to the 4th Regiment of the Alabama Volunteers were mustered regularly into the service of the Confederate States of North America, and each man required to take an oath to support the Constitution of the Confederate States and obey the officers in command. Some six or eight men from North Alabama refused to take the oath. Today regular military discipline was established in the camp and sentinels stationed.

8th. Clear bright day, all our men better, except Ramy, who is quite sick, nothing of interest occurred in the camp.

9th—Cloudy and showers during the day, nothing of interest occurred in the camp.

May 10th—Bright & clear, most of the members of the company who had been sick came into camp today improved in health & strength. About 11 o'clock at night just as everything had become quiet, and still, and the soldiers worn down with fatigue, had fallen into gentle slumbers, dreaming of home, its comforts and enjoyments, orders were received to prepare for marching immediately with rations cooked for two days. In a few moments the whole encampment was in a bustle and stir, cooking and packing up for the march, none knew whither. By daylight we were all ready to march, but no order came to "forward march." There we remained lounging about until five o'clock the next evening, when the order came to take up the line of march to the Rail Road depot, to be transported thence to Harpers Ferry. At six o'clock P. M. the trains left the depot with the Regiment aboard, reaching Charlottesville the next morning just before day.

(Note—The writer of this diary having been sick for two days before the company left Lynchburg, was left on the road near Orange Court House, where he lay sick for three weeks before he was able to follow his company. During this interval the diary

will necessarily be imperfect. He left Locust Dale on Monday the 3rd day of June and overtook his company at Harpers Ferry on Thursday following.)

Sunday—May 12—The company reached Manassa Junction about twelve o'clock today and partook of dinner consisting of raw meat and hard bread. Left Manassa on the train for Strawsburg, where they arrived at eight o'clock A.M. and partook of a hearty breakfast (standing in the street) consisting of a chunk of fat meat with a very small quantity of bread, which the "boys" ate with cheerfulness as good soldiers. Having finished breakfast, the Regiment took up its line of march (on foot) for Winchester, where it arrived about 5 o'clock P.M. This was the first march of any considerable distance the company had been called on to make (on foot) (distance 18 miles) but like good soldiers who had left their homes to serve their country with patriotic feelings and motives, the march was made in good order and without murmurings, with a few exceptions. The company remained in Winchester until eight o'clock P. M. when the boys were relieved of their tiresome march by taking a ride on the Rail Road to Harpers Ferry (the point of destination) a distance of thirty miles. Arrived at Harpers Ferry at twelve o'clock at night. An amusing and laughable, though not very agreeable and pleasant incident occurred in connection with our landing at the Ferry. The night was as dark as Egypt and the rain pouring down in torrents. When the train arrived at the depot there was no one present to direct the Company where to go, or to show them their quarters. In a short time however, the Quartermaster made his appearance and directed Capt. Clarke to follow him together with his company. It was arranged that Lieutenant Terrell should see that the boys were all in line before the order was given to march; in a few moments the Lieut. called out (as it was understood) "all right", when Capt. Clarke gave the order "forward march." The Quartermaster, lantern in hand, took the front and led the company some three hundred yards to a brick building (recently occupied as a dwelling house) as their quarters for the present. On arriving at the building and looking around lo, and behold! not more than forty members of the company were present. The question was, what had become of Lieut. Terrell and the rest of them. The night

being dark and rainy, and the "boys" entire strangers in H. Ferry, it was thought advisable to institute a search for the missing boys, lest they should have to spend the night on the streets in the rain. Search was accordingly made up and down the streets, hollowing at the top of the voice "Canebrake Rifle Guards," but all in vain, the boys could not be found, and the search was given up. About sun up next morning the missing boys made their appearance, wet and hungry. They had, the night before, by some unaccounted for mistake, become separated from the rest of the company, had wandered about in the dark & rain until they found an old unoccupied building, where they turned in and spent the night, cold and wet, and without food or fire. What was said and done the next morning when they all got together, can better be imagined than described. A warm fire and good breakfast set all things right, and a large portion of the day was spent in hearty laughs over the occurrences of the night before.

The Company made this brick building their quarters for one week, when they were ordered to pitch their tents about a mile off, in the edge of a little village called Bolivar. The location for a camp was beautiful indeed, on a high bluff overlooking the Potomac and in full view of the grand and picturesque mountain scenery which surrounds Harpers Ferry. The Company remained encamped at this point some two weeks with but little to break the monotony of camp life, except the little incidents that daily occur in camp, which create a momentary excitement and then pass away. One day while the boys were lounging about, Dr. Hudson, the Orderly Sergeant, came into camp and announced that he was instructed to detail two men from his Company for a *special* purpose, that he wished two of the most *intelligent* young men in the Company. Dr. Baptist and David Trowel insisted on being detailed. Dr. Hudson instructed them to dress themselves genteely and report themselves at the Office of the Adjutant immediately. The boys dressed up and were at the Adjutant's Office in short order. Having reported themselves, the Adjutant ordered them to go over on the side of the mountain, a mile and a half off, to assist in cutting and rolling wood down the mountain. The boys were taken all aback and remonstrated, but to no purpose; the

Adjutant said this was the only use he had for them. The boys now saw the *trick*, but, poor fellows, they had to cut & roll wood all day. Neither of them has voluntarily reported himself ready for *special* missions since. On one or two occasions while the Company were encamped at this point, considerable excitement was produced in the encampment, occasioned by orders from "headquarters" to prepare to march at a moment's warning, coupled with rumors that the Hessians were marching upon us in large numbers, and a battle was momentarily expected. Two or three nights the whole Army were required to sleep on their arms, and it was not unusual for the boys during the night to hear the drums & fifes of the enemy approaching, and the reports of their cannon. But no enemy made its appearance. Whether our officers really believed the enemy near at hand, or issued their orders for the purpose of making the soldiers more vigilant, I cannot say. On Saturday the 1st day of June, orders came from headquarters to hold ourselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning and to send all the sick to Winchester immediately. This looked as though there were something in the wind, and created quite an excitement in the camp. Although a number of our boys were complaining, we could find only three who felt themselves sick enough to be sent away. These were Edga Ware; Perrie Shoemake & Austin Acocke. A large number of sick were however sent off from the different Regiments under the idea that a battle was at hand.

This excitement, like the rest passed off without a fight or even the sight of a Yankee. On Sunday the ninth of June the Regiment received orders to strike tents and prepare to march immediately. In a short time the tents were all struck, rolled up and packed in wagons preparatory to marching. In a few moments the order came to "forward march." The whole regiment were filed into the turnpike leading from Harpers Ferry to Minchester. The boys started off in high glee under the impression that their destination was Martinsburg, where the Yankees were said to be concentrating in large numbers. After marching about half a mile the Regiment was ordered to halt and pitch their tents. This was a sad disappointment to the boys; but military orders must be obeyed and the boys submitted with as good grace as possible. Instead of marching to

Martinsburg to meet the enemy, the move was made as a change of locality, the better to guard the main entrance to Harpers Ferry from the direction of the Northwest. The boys grumbled considerably, at the disappointment but such things are becoming so frequent that they are no rarity. On Thursday morning the 13th, while the boys were preparing for breakfast and the officers were lounging about discussing the probabilities of the war; how long it would continue, what length of time we would probably remain at Harpers Ferry, and our ability to defend the place against any force that might be sent against us; Suddenly an officer from *headquarters* dashed into camp, and held a hurried interview with Col. Jones, the Col of our Regiment, and then dashed off again at full speed. We knew something was in the wind. In a few moments orders were issued to the Regiment to strike tents and prepare to move at a moments warning, to send off all the sick to Winchester, to leave behind all tents and camp equipage; to take along as little clothing as possible, and allow no member of the Company to start who was not able to stand a force march of twenty-five or thirty miles. There were numberless surmises as to what all this meant, but it ended in surmises, for our Commanding Officer, General Johnson, like a skilful, efficient and prudent General (as he is) did not choose to make public his plans or movements. All *our* officers had to do was, to see to it that the orders of their General were punctiliously carried out and ask no questions. In a few moments the whole encampment at Harpers Ferry, from one end to the other was in commotion, showing conclusively that the order was general and had been given to each and every Regiment. In every direction the soldiers might be seen striking their tents and preparing for the march. The different officers of the Regiments were passing rapidly from point to point issuing orders to their men. Occasionally an officer from Headquarters would dash into the camp on a foaming steed, leave a hasty order and dash away. Everything around betokened that something of an unusual character was about to transpire. Company after company and regiment after regiment could be seen filing right and left into the main road leading to the Ferry. The different companies of Cavalry were seen dashing over hill and dale, the flying artillery with their bright field pieces, their trappings and accoutrements, were flying with the swiftness of

the wind, as though in hot pursuit of an enemy or retreating before a victorious foe, while hundreds of wagons of every size and shape were hastening toward the different encampments to take off the baggage, or convey to the Rail Road depot the sick and emaciated soldiers suffering with almost every conceivable disease. The scene around the depot was one which defied all power of description. Baggage, Camp equipage, cooking utensils, knap sacks, and provisions were piled in wild confusion on every conceivable available space of ground. Wagon after wagon would approach as near as possible, to be emptied of its load of freight either of plunder or of sick soldiers and hasten off but to return to the scene of confusion; Officers on foot and on horseback were going hither and thither issuing their orders at the top of their voices, while the managers of the Railroad were hastening from point to point giving orders making the confusion worse confounded. To add to the scene, hundreds of sick soldiers were lying about in every direction, scorching with fevers, suffering with measles, mumps, and every conceivable disease, begging for some cooling draft or healing portion to relieve them of their painful sufferings; but begging almost in vain, for nothing could be obtained except occasionally a cup of cold water administered by the hand of some "Good Samaritan" whose sympathizing bosom was stirred to its depth by the scene of suffering and woe with which he was surrounded. (The writer was an eye witness of the scene, and did his part in trying to relieve the sufferings of the sick.) In the midst of all this confusion and excitement, the whistle of Railroad train was heard in the distance, which sent a thrill of joy through the breast of every sick and suffering soldier. For on that train he expected to be borne away in a few moments from this scene of suffering and confusion. But soldiers are doomed to disappointments. The train soon came in sight and made its way to the depot; the sick begged and besought to be allowed to get aboard but all in vain. Not until two o'clock in the afternoon was the order heard of "all aboard". The countenance of every sick man lighted up, and hope, mingled with the prospect of relief, added fresh strength to his emaciated and worn out system. The long train of *box* and *platform* cars was soon crowded to suffocation with the sick, numbering in all about six hundred. But instead of moving off immediately, as was expected, the train remained at

the depot until one o'clock at night, and did not reach Winchester until sunrise next morning. The scene of suffering and woe presented to the eye of the spectator during that day and night, and the appeals made to his sympathy for relief by those sick men, encased in those hot and suffocating cars, will never be forgotten, and will cause the tear of sympathy to fall, ever and anon, as memory shall bring to view the history of the past. The great and absorbing question amidst all this confusion was, what does all this mean? Are our enemies upon us and about to storm us in our strong hold, or are we about to march upon them and drive them from the soil of Virginia at the point of the bayonet? This was a question which none could answer; all was surmise, all was conjecture. During the day however, it was whispered about that we were about to evacuate Harpers Ferry, burn all the bridges and public property and concentrate our forces at some other point. This story seemed at first so incredible that but little if any credence as given to it, for to the soldiers and many of their officers, it seemed improbable, that General Johnson would give up such a *strong hold* so long as he had around him so many brave hearts and strong arms, ready to defend it to the last extremity. But, as the day (Thursday the 13th) wore away, everything around betokened that there was much more truth than poetry in the rumor. Regiment after Regiment was ordered off; Camp equipage of every description was disappearing from around the depot, train after train was bearing away its load of freight, soldiers who had been stationed on the surrounding heights were leaving their posts and hastening to the Ferry; heavy ordinance from the different batteries was taken off, and every thing valuable and worth preserving, that could possibly be moved, was finding its way to the depot to be shipped. The private citizens of the place had become alarmed at the demonstrations around them and were straining every nerve to move their plunder and valuables to some place of safety. Thus the scene of confusion continued through the day and through the night. About light on Friday morning one or two companies, with officers at their head were seen marching in the direction of the magnificent Railroad bridge which spanned the Potomac from the Virginia to the mainland shore just at the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah. After a few hasty orders and preparations, the train of com-

bustible matter, leading to the mine which had been previously constructed beneath the bridge, was fired. In a moment, a report, which seemed to shake the very foundation of the surrounding mountains, and cause the earth to tremble for miles around, was heard, and that stupendous structure, which cost a million of dollars, and which was the admiration and wonder of every one who saw it, was seen to heave up in the center and fall back a mass of ruins. Almost instantaneous with the report, the bridge (which was covered in, and built double for the passage of trains, wagons and other vehicles) was enveloped in flames from one end to the other. As the flames (which were confined for a considerable time within the bridge) roared curled around and around, seeking to gain an outlet, and ever and anon shot through some crevice above or beneath, hissing and seathing with maddening fury, and the dense cloud of smoke, which rose in a spire until it seemed to pierce the heavens, ascended higher and yet higher, it presented a scene wild and grand in the extreme, and far surpassing the wildest imagination. Add to this scene, the dense cloud of smoke, followed by the bright sheet of flames as it rises about the tops of that magnificent row of public building, on either side of the street, running up the bank of the Potomac, watch its ravishing and devastating course as it spreads from roof to roof roaring, whirling and licking up everything in its course, listen to the falling walls and caving roofs of buildings, behold the bright sheet as it widens and spreads in its devastating course, consuming the labor of years and the expenditure of millions of treasure; see it as it seizes upon that Railroad track, destroying the most magnificent structure of the kind in the world; and then turn and view the work of destruction as building after building along the bank of the Shenandoah is consumed, and listen to the shouts of triumph, as they pierce the air, sent up by the soldiers; and you have some faint conception of the evacuation and burning of Harpers Ferry. It may be proper to add that every possible exertion was made both by citizens and soldiers to save the private property, as it was only intended by General Johnson to destroy *public* property. The 4th Alabama Regiment including the Canebroke Rifle Guards, remained at Harpers Ferry until Saturday morning, before they received orders to march. As the tents, camp-equipage and baggage, of the whole regiment,

had been sent off on Thursday, the boys had to endure the heat of the sun (without shade) by day, and rest at night with the ground for a bed, and the bright canopy of heaven above, for a covering. On Saturday morning the 15th inst, about ten o'clock A. M. the Regiment received orders to march in the direction of Charlestown; (a place noted as being the town where Old John Brown and his associates were tried, convicted and hung.) The boys started off in high spirits at the prospect of getting away from H. Ferry, and after marching some twelve or fifteen miles encamped a few miles south of Charlestown on the Winchester road. During the night some of General Johnson's spies came in and reported that a large body of federal troops were crossing the Potomac near Shepardstown to attack Martinsburg. General Johnson resolved at once to march upon them, and give them battle. At early dawn on Sabbath morning the head of the Column of our army (about 8,000 strong) was turned in the direction of Martinsburg and ordered to march. The whole army at once seemed inspired with fresh courage and vigour; and animated with the hope of getting a sight of the Yankee invaders, bounded over the rough turnpike as lightly and cheerfully as though they were on their way to partake of a sumptuous dinner. Although many of the boys had their feet badly blistered, and were worn down by fatigue from hard marching and sleeping on the ground in the open air, still but few murmurs or complaints were heard. Every man seemed willing and ready to undergo the hardships and fatigues of the march under the hope, that every step was lessening the distance between them and the invaders of the soil of Virginia. After marching twenty one miles over a rough road, under a scorching sun, and often without water to quench the thirst, and but little food, the Army encamped for the night at a place called Bunker Hill, (and entirely different place from the Bunker Hill in Massachusetts however), and slept again in the open air. Early on Monday morning orders were issued from Headquarters to have the whole army drawn up in line of battle. Rumors spread through the camp that the Yankees were marching down upon us eighteen thousand strong and were only about twelve miles off. Here was a good chance for a fight as we all thought. And the idea of seeing the rascals and taking a brush with them seemed to inspire the boys with fresh zeal and nerve them for the conflict.

Notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, as reported, 18,000 to 8,000 our boys were anxious for the fray, and but few seemed to have any other thought but that we could whip them without half trying. Indeed it was a common remark with the boys, that there would be only *two* Yankees to our *one*, and that would be no fight at all. The whole line was drawn up in battle array, fences, bushes and obstructions of every kind moved out of the way. Officers galloped up and down the line giving orders, the different officers of the regiments and companies were encouraging their men to stand firm and do honor to their Section and the states from whence they came. All was now anxious solicitude and expectation; every eye was strained to catch the first glimpse of the enemy, and every ear was opened to catch the first sound of the drum, or the raling of the musketry of the outposts. But neither seeing the one or hearing the other, a murmur of disappointment ran from one end of the line to the other; and curses innumerable were heaped upon the heads of the Yankees for being so tardy in their movements. After being kept in this position for a considerable length of time, and no Yankees coming in sight, General Johnson turned the head of his column and ordered his men to march in the direction of Winchester. The boys now finding that all hope of a fight was gone and persuading themselves that the General had palmed off a trick on them, gave vent to their pent up feelings by censuring the General, and heaping curses deep and loud on all the Yankees in Christendom.

The Army continued its march to within four miles of Winchester, and camped in a beautiful shady grove with an abundant supply of spring water near at hand. The army, or a portion of it, remained here for several days, sleeping under the trees for a shelter, and amusing themselves by catching squirrels during the day. On Thursday morning the 20th Instant, we again broke up camp and marched to within a half mile or three quarters of Winchester and camped on the north of the city in an old field, in the hot sun during the day and the next, the different Companies hunted up their tents, pitched them, and went regularly into camp life. But finding it exceeding disagreeable in the hot sun, and very inconvenient to obtain water, (having to bring it from the city) it was thought desirable to

hunt out a better location. The officers whose business it was to select the location, selected one about a mile from the city, [Winchester] down in a meadow, with no shade near, with high hills all around and some distance from water; one of the most undesirable locations that could have been selected. When the officers returned and reported, that a suitable spot had been selected, the Regiment again struck their tents and marched over. But when the men arrived at the designated place and viewed the location, many of them heaped imprecations loud and deep upon those who had made the selection, and vowed they would not remain in such a place. Tents were however pitched, but on the succeeding day, Capt. Clarke of the Canebrake R. Guards notified some of the field officers that his company should not remain at such a place, and if he was not moved to a better location by a certain time, he would take the responsibility and move himself. This admonition was heeded, and the whole Regiment promptly removed to a beautiful grove on an elevated point with an abundance of good water near at hand. The regiment remained at this point until Tuesday the 2nd day of July. Several amusing little incidents occurred with members of the C. R. Guards while near town one of which I will relate, on account of the amusement it created. Private Geo. Markham and William Ware (known in camp as skinner) both of them just recovering from measles, concluded one evening that they would go in search of strawberries, so off they started. They had not proceeded far before they discovered an old, poor, worn-out and broken-down grey horse grazing along the road. Thinking it would be more pleasant to ride than walk they formed a bridle out of their canteen straps, and mounted, one behind the other, bare-back. In this predicament they wandered from house to house inquiring for strawberries, but without success. Finally they came to a beautiful residence, highly ornamented with shrubbery, fruit trees, flowers and vegetation of every description. Everything was so beautifully and tastefully arranged, that the boys concluded they had found a public garden where fruits, vegetables and flowers were raised for sale. They rode up to the gate and hollowed, when, who should come to answer the summons but a beautiful and neaty dressed young lady. The boys thought it was one of the young ladies who superintended

the garden and made free to ask questions. So Mr. Markham putting on one of his blandest smiles, said Madam we are two poor soldiers, nearly half starved, and we want to buy a few strawberries; can't you sell us a tin cup full of strawberries if you please marm? We are nearly starved to death; the doctors wouldn't let us have anything to eat; just please, marm, let us have a few strawberries if you please. The lady who was considerably affected by this sympathetic and pitiful appeal, replied, we have no strawberries at all, if so we would give you as many as you wish, we never *sell* strawberries, and could not think of doing so to a poor sick soldier. What company do you belong to? To Capt. Clarke's Company of the 4th Ala. Regiment, responded Mr. Markham. Ah! indeed remarked the young lady! I am sorry Papa is not at home, he would take great pleasure in doing anything for you he could. Mr. Markham, nothing daunted, asked, marm will you tell us who is your papa? Perhaps we might meet up with him, and he could tell where we could get some strawberries? My paper is Senator Mason replied the young lady! Who! did you say, asked Markham, the blood rushing to his face, and the perspiration rushing out at every pore. Senator Mason is my papa, responded the young lady. Markham whispered to Ware; Skinner, My God let us get away from here! So wheeling their splendid steed, they said, good bye marm and left as fast as that poor pack of bones would take them away, leaving the young lady standing in the door enjoying a hearty laugh at their ridiculous attitude and awful blunder. The boys will never hear the last of that strawberry hunt, and Senator Mason. It is, and will be the source of many a hearty jest and laugh around the campfires.

NOTE: As various reports have reached our homes in reference to the officers and members of the Canebrake R. Guards, calculated to reflect upon their honor and reputation as soldiers, charging the officers with partiality in their dealings, and totally disqualified for the responsible positions they occupy, and charging on the men rowdyism, and dissipation; I take please in bearing testimony to the untruthfulness of these rumors. A more impartial set of officers, so far as my observation extends, cannot be found in any company in the Army, nor is there a set of officers, more urbane, dignified and gentlemanly in their bearing. Capt. Clarke is noted through out

the whole regiment for [his] kindness, care, attention, and watchfulness which he manifests towards his men. Such is his popularity, not only with nearly all the members of his own Company, but with the Regiment, that hundreds of them would defend him to the last, and follow him into the most imminent danger. The members of the company as a class have deputed themselves so as to gain the reputation of being one of the most orderly, well behaved, and best drilled Companies in the regiment. True, there is some dissipation occasionally, and some profanity, but not half the amount of either that was expected. Wicked men will swear, and drunkards will drink whiskey.

Another rumor which has reached our homes, and which has found utterance in some of our newspapers is, that the army is poorly fed. I know not how it may be in future; but I venture the assertion, that up to the present time, no army was ever better fed than that division of the C. S. Army to which we belong.

Many members of the Canebrake R. Guards have been sick during their stay in Winchester, but none of them seriously. Most of the sickness consisted of measles, mumps and diarrhoea. The cases of sickness have become of such frequent occurrence that I have ceased to make a daily record of them. Monday July the 1st: Everything quiet today in camp. The weather is quiet cold for July. A calm seems to pervade everything around us, like unto a calm which preceeds a storm. This is particularly the case as regards *military* operations. Capt. Clarke was taken ill to-dayday with flux, so much so that he had to be removed from camp to town.

Tuesday one o'clock. The whole encampment in and around Winchester is again astir. Orders have just been issued by Gen. Johnson to be ready to march at a moment's warning. A few moments later an officer is observed approaching the 4th Ala. Regiment under full headway, on a foaming steed. He dashes to the headquarters of Col. Jones, delivers a hasty message and departs. Now come the orders to march in *five* minutes time, leaving behind all tents, knapsacks, and camp equipage. The voices of the officers are heard throughout the Regiment calling together their several companies. The rolls are called, companies formed, and one by one fall into line, file into

the main road, and as a regiment, take up the line of march in the direction of Martinsburg. These movements had to be executed so rapidly that scarcely any one had time to inquire into the cause of the haste or the suddenness of the move. All was surmise and conjecture, and numerous the speculations as to what it all meant. As Regiment after Regiment filed into [the] line and started on its march, the excitement (among the citizens) rose higher and higher, and was but increased by [the time] the thousand and one rumors that prevailed and spread over the town. One would have it, that fifteen or twenty thousand Yankees had crossed the river at Harpers Ferry and were advancing on the town. Another heard they were only a few miles off. And thus the rumors flew, and the excitement increased. It was not until late in the evening, that the cause of the sudden departure of the army was made known.

Gen. Jackson who had been sent with a brigade to Martinsburg, some week or ten days before, to watch the movements of the enemy, had ascertained that the Yankees, under Gen. Patterson, were crossing the Potomac in a large body 18 or 20,000 strong, at or near Williamsport some eight or ten miles above Martinsburg. Jackson was fighting the enemy as he advanced, but was retreating in good order toward Martinsburg, to wait reinforcements. Our little army moved on at a rapid pace toward the scene of action, the 4th Ala. Regiment left Winchester at 2 o'clock P.M. marched to Bunker Hill and halted until 2 o'clock at night, when it pushed on to a little town called Buckletown (or Darksville) 4 miles this side of Martinsburg. Here our whole army halted to await the approach of the enemy, and here they met Jackson with his little band retreating before a large body of the enemy. Jackson with about 400 of his men, had attacked seven or eight thousand of the Yankees, had taken 43 prisoners, and killed a number with the loss on his side of only two killed and seven wounded. The number of killed on the other side could only be ascertained by rumor. A farmer near Martinsburg reported that he helped to bury 123 Yankees, and a lady living in Hagerstown in Maryland, writing to a friend in Winchester, reports that 300 dead bodies passed through that town. Gen. Johnson confidently expected that Patterson would push on after Jackson at day light on Wednesday morning, consequently a little after light he drew up his whole army in line of bat-

tle, intending to give Patterson a warm reception should be approach.

But in the course of a few hours, he learned that Patterson had occupied Martinsburg and was throwing up entrenchments. Our army was ordered to stack arms and remain in position thus was passed the day, Wednesday, and during the night, the men sleeping by their arms, lying on the ground, in the dirt with rocks for pillows and the trees, or the heavens for a shelter. Early on Thursday morning, the 4th of July, it was rumored through the camp that Gen. Patterson would be over to take a 4th of July breakfast with Gen. Johnson at eight o'clock. Feeling disposed to treat his honored guest with every mark of hospitality and civility, Gen. Johnson ordered the line of battle formed, and every necessary preparation made to give Patterson a warm, old fashioned breakfast served up after latest *Southern* stile. But Patterson, from prudential motives, declined the hospitality tendered, and remained in his camp to amuse himself by firing cannon and fire crackers. Finding that Patterson had no disposition to join us in a mutual celebration of the 4th, Gen. Johnson ordered his men to stack arms, in line, and amuse themselves as best they might. Thing remained quiet during the day and night, with exception of the occasional shooting of a Yankee sentinel, or the capturing Yankee prisoners, by our scouts. During the day Friday, everything remained in Statu quo. On Saturday evening about four o'clock the pickets came in, in haste and reported that Patterson's army was moving down upon us. Our boys thought the long looked for time had at last come, and that an opportunity would be given them to test Yankee metal. A line of battle was soon formed, and inspired with the prospect of a fight, our boys raised a shout of defiance from one end of the line to the other, and prepared to give the enemy a warm reception. It was soon ascertained however, that it was a false alarm, and instead of marching down upon us, two regiments of the enemy were simply changing their location. Our boys were sadly disappointed and stacked their arms reluctantly, heaping on the heads of the Yankees innumerable curses, for being such infamous cowards. On Sunday morning Gen. Johnson issued a proclamation, which was read to his army, to the effect, that he had for four days, successively, challenged the enemy to a fight on the open field, but to no purpose.

That he had every confidence in the bravery and willingness of his troops to meet the enemy, but considering the great disparity, in point of numbers, between his troops and those of the enemy, he thought it would be hazarding too much, and cause too great a sacrifice of life to attack the enemy in his entrenched position. Hoping that his men would still repose confidence in their General, he had determined to fall back to his former position at Winchester. This announcement at once destroyed all hope of a fight, and caused a general depression of spirit among the boys; they hung their heads, and as they faced about toward Winchester, many and deep were the curses heaped on the Yankees for not coming out of the twon to fight, and on Gen. Johnson for not leading them forward to attack the enemy in his strong hold. The boys swore they could have whipped Patterson like a sack, and driven him back across the river, and the Col. of one of the Miss. Regiments, swore he could take his Regiment and run every *damn* Yankee out of Martinsburg. Such were the feelings of our boys as they marched toward Winchester. Most of the boys reached their camping ground about dark, on Sunday evening, dirty, hungry, worn out, and greatly fatigued, from their hurried march, and severe exposure; being compelled to sleep on the ground, without tents, and but little covering.

An accident of a serious and painful character ocured with the Canebroke R. G. by which it is feared a member of the Company will loose his life. A short time after the company arrived at Darksville, the boys were examining their pistols to ascertain if they were in order for an engagement. While Gilbert Nicolson was handling his pistol and trying the cylinder, and caps, the cock of the pistol slipped from his thumb, fell upon the cap and fired the pistol. The ball struck Powhattan Baptist (who was at the time lying on the ground asleep) in the small of the back, immediately on the back bone, dissevering (as the Surgeons thought) the Spinal marrow. The surgeons were unable to extract the ball, as it had glanced and entered to a considerable depth. The accident produced a gloom in the company and caused universal regret. But the anguish was felt by none so keenly as by young Nicolson, and particularly by his Father. While every member of the Company deeply sympathized with Baptist, the sympathy of the whole Company was aroused for "Bob"—who seemed to feel, so keenly, the result

of the accident, caused by his son. The company was compelled to leave Baptist behind when they returned to Winchester, the physicians deciding, that it cause his death in a few hours if an attempt were made to move him. His brother, Dr. Baptist, remained with him. Although Capt. Clarke was suffering severely from the attack of bloody dysentery, when his company left Winchester, he followed on after them, the next day, and once or twice got up out of his bed, at Darksville, and headed his company, when there was a prospect of a fight.

As remarked above, the army returned to Winchester on Sunday night and remained quiet during Monday and Tuesday. On Wednesday morning the 10th, inst. the 4th Ala. Regiment, received orders to strike tents, and prepare to march, which order was promptly obeyed; but, as no marching orders came, the Regiment remained in "Statu Quo" during the day and night. About 3 o'clock in the evening a heavy storm of rain passed, accompanied with considerable thunder and lightning. A good many of the boys were pretty well drenched before they could pitch their tents. The order to strike tents was caused from a rumor which had reached Gen. Johnson, to the effect that Patterson was breaking up his camp, at Martinsburg, with a view of marching on Winchester. It was ascertained afterwards, that two or three Regiments belonging to Patterson's army, had broken up camp to return home their term of service having expired.

Thursday morning July 11th: Everything comparatively quiet in camp. Extensive preparations are being made to defend Winchester. Earthworks are in course of construction, and a number of pieces of heavy ordinance are being planted on the heights around the city. Great excitement prevails among the inhabitants, and many of them are preparing to leave, which they will find it difficult to do, as Gen. Johnson had issued orders prohibiting any one to leave the city without his permission.

Friday the 12th: Everything quiet in camp; nothing new or strange occurring, various rumors and reports in circulation in reference to the movements of the enemy, but nothing of a reliable character. A number of the boys are on the sick list, but none of them seriously ill. Quite a hard rain fell at night, which gave some of the boys a wetting.

Saturday 13th: Things remain quiet; cloudy and cool in the morning, showery during the evening.

Sunday: Every thin quiet. This is the 3rd Sabbath since the company left home, that it has not been on the march, striking tents, pitching tents, or something of the kind. Military men, as a general thing, seem wholly to disregard the Sabbath. Query—Can they who totally disregard the positive command of the Almighty, to keep the Sabbath day holy, claim his protection in the defense of their rights?

Monday 15th: Everything throughout the entire encampment, and through the army astir. Scout after Scout, and picket after picket are dashing into town bearing the intelligence that Patterson has broke up camp at Martinsburg and is advancing in the direction of Winchester. Our whole army is put in marching order. Regiment after regiment is on the move to the north of town, in the direction of the intended battle ground, the artillery are dashing through the streets, Cavalry Companies are filing right and left and pushing forward, officers on foaming steeds are galloping hither and thither, bearing messages to the different posts; wagons loaded with tents and camp equipage, are crowding the streets, and crowds of anxious spectators are thronging the sidewalks inquiring of every passerby the latest news. Occasionally a squad of cavalry dash in bearing **the news that Col. Stewart** is hovering around the enemy as he advances, and at every favorable chance pitches into him with his Cavalry, causing many of them to bite th dust, and now and then capturing a prisoner. Added to this, which tends to increase the excitement several prisoners, one deserter, and one or two wounded men from the cavalry arrive in town. Just at dark the scouts report that the enemy have halted at Bunker Hill, twelve miles off. This tends to allay the excitement and things remain comparatively quiet for the night.

Tuesday morning the 16th: Scouts report that the enemy are advancing, and that Col. Steward is attacking their advance Column. 12 o'clock: enemy still advancing slowly; have approached with their advance guard to within six miles. 2 o'clock P.M.: Our army is drawn up in line of battle, and every preparation made to receive the enemy. Our men all cheerful and eager for the fray. 7 o'clock, one half of each company ordered to retire to camp and rest until ten, march to the lines and re-

lieve the other half until two, when the whole army will again form line of battle.

Wednesday morning 17th: No enemy in sight, all is quiet, troops all ordered to retire to their camps where they remained in quiet during the day and night.

Thursday morning 18th: All is excitement, bustle and preparation. Orders have just been received from headquarters to strike tents and prepare to march at a moment's notice, with rations cooked for several days. The boys are all in a high state of glee and excitement under the impression that they are to be led out to attack the Northern vandals, under Patterson, and drive them back from Virginia soil. But, as the sequel will show, to be led in an entirely different direction. In a very short time, the tents of the whole army were struck and rolled up ready for removal. The note of preparation was everywhere to be heard, all was bustle and confusion. Officers galloping hither and thither delivering orders; the men preparing for the march, wagons and vehicles of kind and description hastening to the different encampments to be loaded with such articles as are necessary to follow the army. Artillery companies with their bright pieces, and glittering apparel are dashing hither and thither; Cavalry companies are dashing through the streets of Winchester, and ambulances are bearing off the sick from the camps to the hospitals. Everything around indicates, that something of an extraordinary character is about to transpire, and that a grand and general move of the whole army is contemplated; but, in what direction, and to what destination is all conjecture. As the preparations of the army continued, and the rumors spread and gained currency, the scene in the city of Winchester baffled all description. The rumor soon spread throughout the city that Gen. Johnson intended to evacuate Winchester, retreat to Strasburg and leave Winchester to the tender mercies of Patterson and his northern Vandals. It was both amusing and highly interesting to watch the countenances of both men and women and listen to their conjectures and comments as to the practicability of the movement and what would be the final results to the inhabitants of the doomed city.

The scenes that had already transpired in Alexandria and Baltimore flitted vividly before their imaginations, and were now about to be reenacted in their own midst. Business was

almost entirely suspended, men were hurrying to and fro, and only pausing in their haste, to listen to some one hurriedly discoursing to a group gathered around him, as to what was best to be done. Women hastened from house to house to impart the latest intelligence, and hear the latest news.

Merchants were busy in collecting together their gold, silver and *Shinplasters* (of which there was an abundance) preparatory to removal to a more secure locality, housekeepers were collecting together, and packing away their Silverware and other valuables, while other families were packing their wagons and leaving for more healthy regions. A circumstance which transpired in Winchester on Tuesday night, the 16th (when we were expecting Patterson's army to attack us every hour, and before any intimation was given that Johnson intended evacuating the place) is worthy of record here, as indicative of the feelings of the citizens, in the good and loyal Secession town(!) of Winchester. When Johnson's army entered Winchester a large number of *conspicuous Secession flags* were suspended across main street, beside a large number that were raised on public and private buildings about the town. On the Tuesday night, above mentioned, while our army was drawn up in line of battle, ready to defend the inhabitants of the city, and protect their lives and property from their northern foes, by some means or other, almost every one of the flags disappeared. What the object was in removing them, whether for the better security of the town, should Patterson get possession, or whether to prevent the Northern army from *securing the flags* themselves the writer does not know. It was, to say the least of it, a high compliment(!) to Johnson and his army, and reminded me of the anecdote told of a man, who always in his prayers, prayed *good Lord, good Devil*; assigning as a reason, that he did not know into whose hands he might fall, and he thought it best to be on the safe side. I suppose the good people of Winchester thought it best to be on the safe side, which was highly commendable. I doubt not that some of the citizens of Winchester are heartily ashamed, that the thing occurred. For I understand that it generally denied. But, there is no use in denying it. The writer of this had been in Winchester for three weeks, attending of the sick, and had seen the flags flying every day. Their removal immediately attracted his attention on entering the street Wednesday morning. He called the attention of a number of the Citizens to it

during the day and asked for the cause of the removal. Hundreds of the officers and soldiers had their attention called to it during the day, and it became a matter of general remark amongst them.

About one o'clock P. M. Gen. Jackson's brigade passed through the town in the direction of Strasburg, following in quick succession, brigade after brigade, and regiment after regiment followed in the same direction until the whole army had passed. The excitement with the citizens in Winchester now became intense as they became convinced that the whole army was about to leave. One circumstance alone remained to console them, and induce the belief, that the army would soon return. Viz: Johnson had left behind him all his sick, and the camp equipage of his army was all piled up on the ground recently occupied by the troops. The head of the column (as remarked) filed into the turnpike leading to Strasburg, followed it for several miles, then filed left into a road leading to Piedmont station, on the Manassas and Strasburg railroad.

The troops now became satisfied, that they were to cross the Blue Ridge and leave the valley of Virginia to take care of itself, for the time being. This supposition was strengthened by a rumor which prevailed throughout the line, that the destination of the army was Manassas Junction, to form a junction with Beauregard and engage in the great battle that was expected to come off in a few days. How far this supposition was realized, the Sequel will shown. General Bee's Brigade, including the 4th Ala. Regiment, brought up the rear of the column on the march. It left Winchester Thursday evening, the 18th, a little before sundown, marched all night, and halted next morning about 5:00 o'clock on the bank of the Shenandoah river, where the troops were permitted to rest until 2 o'clock P.M. The order was then given to, "forward march," when all hands were required to strip and wade the river, in some places waist deep. It was a novel sight, and one which afforded a vast amount of fun and merriment, to see thousands of soldiers, with nothing but their shirts on, and these tucked up under their arms, plugging into the river and breasting the swift current. Occasionally, bursts of laughter, and shouts, long and loud, would rend the air, as some officer or soldier would miss his foothold and plunge headlong into the water and disappear from sight. The troops all

across and dressed, the line of march was again taken up, for Piedmont Station; which place they reached about 8 o'clock P. M. after a long, hot, tedious and forced march, of about seventeen hours, with but little intermission, and little to eat or drink. The 4th Ala. Regiment remained at Piedmont Station during the night, sleeping on the wet ground, and left for Manassas next morning, (Saturday the 20th) about daylight, which place they reached about 9 o'clock A.M. The regiment halted a short time near the junction, and then marched out about four miles in the direction of bull run, where they again halted (for they had no tents) and remained during the day and night resting the best they could under the circumstances.

On Sunday, the 21st, morning the memorable 21st of July, 1861. About 7 o'clock while the boys were partaking of a scanty breakfast, orders were issued for the Regiment to march immediately in the direction of the battle field. In about give minutes time, the regiment was armed & equiped and on the march. Heavy canonading had been heard from about light, in the direction of bull run, which had been kept up by the batteries of the enemy, as a feint to draw off our forces from the intended point of attack. The intention of the enemy was however soon discovered by Gen's Beauregard & Johnson, and their Scouts gave notice that the main column of the enemy had crossed Bull Run near Stone Bridge and was endeavoring to flank our men on the left.

The 4th Ala. Regiment was marched in a northwesterly direction through pine thickets and cedar hammocks, over ditches, gullies, brier patches, fences, swamps, hills and vallies, at about $\frac{1}{2}$ double quick, some eight or ten miles. After a few moments rest, and breathing time, this regiment was thrown out in advance of our army to engage the enemy. This regiment was the first to engage the enemy in anything like a regular fight on this part of the field, although there was skirmishing going on in several places, the 4th Ala. was the first to engage the enemy regularly and bring on the fight. The regiment were ordered out of a piece of timber, in which they were concealed, into an open corn field, within a short distance of Sherman's celebrated battery, and within two hundred yards of tne thousand of the enemy. Our regiment had scarcely emerged from the timber, before a murderous fire was opened upon them by the Yankeys

who were posted on a hill behind a picket fence. Our brave boys marched steadily forward in the face of the shower of balls, falling around them, until they had ascended some distance up the hill, when they were ordered to halt and lie down. It was a critical moment, and a fearful position for a handful of men (between six and seven hundred) to occupy; with nothing to shelter them from the fearful storm of bullets, and almost entirely unable to return the fire, from the position of the enemy, and the nature of the ground. Notwithstanding the great odds with which the regiment had to contend, the immense advantages possessed by the enemy, the boys stood it with a courage and coolness that would have done credit to a set of old and experienced veterans. The Colonel, Lieut. Col. and Major of the regiment, one after the other, and in quick succession, were shot down, besides several privates killed and a number wounded. The regiment was soon without field officers and their critical position was watched with intense interest by the Generals commanding, as well as by other officers.

It was soon discovered that the enemy was flanking us on the right and left, and would in a few moments more completely surround us. This they were enabled to do, unperceived, by creeping through the pine thickets. Our officers perceiving that in a few moments the regiment would be completely surrounded and cut off, ordered a retreat, which was made in "double quick" but in good order, after having maintained their position for one hour and forty minutes, against *ten thousand* of the enemy, and was a loss of their Col., Lieut. Col. & Major, severely wounded and disabled; one captain (Lindsay) killed, besides several Captains wounded and a number of Lieutenants, Corporals, Sargeants and privates killed and wounded. The regiment retreated to the piece of timber, which it had left, under a shower of bullets poured upon it from the front, right and left, followed by the Yankees themselves. It was a matter of perfect astonishment, to all, that a single man of the regiment escaped alive, and nothing but the protecting power of an overruling Providence could have saved them. The Col. of the regiment (Jones) remarked to the writer, (on Tuesday after the battle) that Gen. Johnson had assured him, that he never witnessed more undaunted courage, coolness and bravery than was displayed by the 4th Ala. Regiment on that occasion; and that the noble stand the regiment made in that cornfield, con-

tributed as much, if not more, to the brilliant victory, than anything which transpired during the day; inasmuch as it held in check a large body of the enemy until sufficient reinforcements were brought up to prevent a grand flank movement, by the enemy, on the left of the line. As our regiment retreated into the timber Sherman's battery opened upon it with grape, canister, shell and ball, which literally riddled the timber, and forced the boys to continue their retreat to the valley beyond, through which runs a winding muddy branch, whose banks were covered with willows and other bushes. After slaking their thirst as well as they could and resting for a moment, the regiment was again reformed and drawn up in line on the bank of the branch. In a few moments a large body of troops were discovered just up the branch drawn up in close order. These our officers and men took for friends, thinking they were the Georgia and Mississippi Regiments belonging to their brigade, which had been stationed in the woods as a reserve. Many of the men contended that they were Yanks, and raised their guns to fire at them. The officers ordered the guns down assuring the men that they were friends. They were however speedily undeceived by a shower of bullets, that was poured upon them by their supposed friends. Here again the regiment made a noble and bold stand, holding in check thousands of the enemy, unaided and unsupported. Finding themselves completely overwhelmed by numbers, and entirely unsupported, the regiment was again forced to retreat after having lost a number of officers and men, in killed and wounded.

It was here that Lieut. Pitts and private Robt. Mitchell, of the Canebreak Rifle Guards were killed. The regiment was forced, in this retreat, to pass up a long hill, in full view of the enemy, which exposed them to a murderous and galling fire. As the boys ascended the hill, a shower of bullets fell around them at every step, cutting down a number of them. As they neared the top of the hill, Sherman's Battery, which had been moved from its former position, opened upon them scattering shell, canister and grape in every direction doing considerable execution. It was on this hill that William Hill of the Canebreak Rifle Guards was killed by the explosion of a bomb. The regiment retired beyond the hill, again reformed and awaited the approach of the enemy. It was now growing late in the day, and the boys, many of them, were worn down with fatigue and

exhaustion, a number of them had been killed and wounded, and a number had fallen on the field from complete exhaustion. While the regiment was stationary, awaiting orders, a regiment made its appearance on the left of the hill, which our troops had a short time before left. The regiment had a Secession flag flying, which was a positive assurance to our men, that they were friends. In order the more fully to reassure themselves (fearing that they might again be deceived) our men gave the signal, which had been agreed on in the morning. This signal was properly returned. In a few moments an officer approached from behind the hill and waived a white flag. Our men were now fully satisfied, that they were *friends*, and made themselves easy. But, woeful deception! At a signal given by the officer with the white flag, the Yanks rushed from behind the hill in swarms and opened a fire upon our regiment retired behind the hill and filed off to the left.

How the Yanks came into possession of the Confederate flag; whether they had taken it in the fight, or whether they had manufactured it, *to order*, is a question. I am, however, inclined to the latter opinion; inasmuch as I am satisfied, that the Confederates did not loose a flag during the fight. It was a shrewd trick on the part of the Yanks, and one well calculated to deceive, but, for which, they paid dearly in the end.

While the 4th Regiment was recovering from the temporary excitement, caused by the deception which had been practiced upon them, General Bee rode up and asked who, in the regiment would follow him to the conflict. Every man rose up, raised a shout and replied, we will follow you to the death. General Bee then led off in the direction of the house on the hill where the old lady was killed, and near where Sherman's Battery was taken. As the Regiment was marching up a narrow road through a pine thicket, Albertu's Battery, which had been driven from its position, came dashing down the road under full headway. The men were compelled to file right and left into the thicket, to prevent being run over. The larger portion of the regiment filed off to the left, the remainder, including twenty members of the Canebrake Rifle Guards, filed to the right. Thus the regiment was separated. After the road became clear of Albertu's Battery and train, all of the 4th Ala. that Gen. Bee could find, was the twenty members of the Canebrake Rifle Guards, and

the few others that had fallen in with them. Gen. Bee at the head of these led on to where the battle was raging hottest, immediately in front of Sherman's battery and not more than two hundreds yards distant from it. They soon reached a point where the balls fell like hail around them. Just here while Gen. Bee was riding in front of his men, cheering them onward to victory and inspiring them with fresh courage and heroism, fell mortally wounded. Orderly Sergeant W. O. Hudson, and I, Warren Hudson bore him in their arms to a shade near by where they made his situation as comfortable as possible. At the request of Gen. Bee, P. Warren Hudson remained by his side, administering to his wants, and then took charge of his body, carrying it safely back to Manassas. Orderly Sergeant Hudson returned to the fight. Gen. Bee having fallen, the Canebrakers fell in with other regiments, or fought on their own hook, according to circumstances, were present, and in the charge made on Sherman's Battery and saw the retreating column of the enemy as it rushed helter skelter over the hill.

Lieut. Coleman, Lieut. Terrell & Ord. Sarg. Hudson acted with great coolness & bravery, leading the boys forward and cheering them onward to victory. While there was no manifestation of cowardice among the officers of the Canebrake Rifle Guards, and with one or two exceptions, none among the privates, still Lieut. Coleman, Lieut. Terrell and Orderly Sargeant Hudson deserve particular notice for their coolness & bravery. They were ever found in the hottest of the fight, leading their men onward, encouraging the timid, animating the dispirited, and inspiring the whole company with fresh courage to press foward to deeds of heroism and patriotism. No officer on the field manifested more bravery and coolness than Capt. Clarke; but as has been already shown, he was disabled in the early part of the engagement and was not permitted to lead his company through the fight. [next three lines Xed out] Although Capt. Clarke was so disabled as unfitted him from leading his company, still he refused positively to quit the field, but followed on close behind his company, exposing his life, and showing by his coolness and bravery, that he knew no fear, and that he was willing to sacrifice his life, rather than desert the brave boys who had followed him from home, to die in defence of their homes and liberties. Although disabled himself; often amidst showers of bullets, might be seen this kind hearted and brave man,

(in company with his Surgeon, Dr. William E. Pegram) bearing some wounded soldier from the field, administering to the necessities of others, and aiding in amputating the limbs of those who had fallen by the bullets of the [new page] enemy. Lieut. D. W. Pitts fell at his post fighting bravely in defense of his flag. He manifested no fear on the battle field but was ever ready to face the enemy, and drive back the invading foe from the soil of his nativity. He died a warrior's death; peace to his ashes.

To the honor of the Canbrake Rifle Guards, be it said, it was the only company of the Regiment, that was in the last desperate fight around Sherman's Battery, and the only company present when the final charge was made on the battery, the guns taken, and the enemy forced ingloriously to retreat. The "Canebrakers" were there, were in the charge, saw the enemy fly, gave them a parting salute, and joined in the triumphant shout that rent the heavens, as the frightened and panic-stricken Yanks rushed in wild confusion over the hills and through the woods.

As a farther honor and mark of distinction to the Canebrake Rifle Guards, and as a mark of the high estimate in which they were held by the commanding Generals, it devolved upon this company to escort the remains of General Bee to its last resting place and deposit them beneath the clods of the valley with military honor.

The 4th Ala. Regiment, as has been shown, was divided and separated by Albertu's Battery, while marching through the pines in the direction of where Sherman's battery was taken. The Regiment halted at the edge of the pines until Albertu's battery had passed, filed off to the left beyond the pines, and did not again go into the fight during the day. The Canebrake R. Guards filed to the right (their position was on the right) and followed Gen. Bee into the engagement. These facts will account for the fact, that you hear nothing of the 4th Ala. in the last fight. Their field officers had been shot down and taken from the field, Gen Bee, who was leading them had been separated from them by Albertu's battery, when the Battery had passed, they could find out nothing of the whereabouts of Gen Bee, hence the regiment halted to await orders.

The battle over, the enemy put to flight, and [new page] victory gained; it devolved upon those who had escaped the bul-

lets of the enemy, to look after the dead and wounded of their late comrades. This was a sad and mournful duty, and rendered the more distressing from the facts, that it was late in the evening before the battle closed, and those who were engaged in it, were so completely exhausted and worn down by fatigue, hunger & thirst, that they were incapacitated from engaging in the sad duty. The want of *Ambulances* was another draw back; which rendered the task of removing the wounded exceedingly painful and distressing. Many of the poor fellows had to ride from the battle field to Manassas, a distance of six or seven miles, in rough wagons or carts, without springs, and over an exceedingly rough road. When it is known, that a number of our wounded were forced to lie on the battle field all night, and a good portion of the next day, exposed to a drenching rain, which commenced during the night after the battle, and continued through the next day, and then forced to ride in these rough wagons, over the rough roads, their sufferings can better be imagined, than expressed. Oh! it was sad, and heart-rending to walk [new page] over that battle field, to listen to the groans of the dying, to hear the wailings of the suffering; their appeals for help and relief, and witness the excruciating sufferings made visible by the contortions of the face. Add to these the heaps of the dead in every direction, and you have some faint idea of the picture. The loss in killed and wounded in the 4th Ala. Regiment was 180 among the number its Colonel, Lieut. Col and Major. This was nearly one third of the number engaged in the fight, and proves conclusively, the daring bravery, and noble stand which the regiment made in the fight.

The Canebrake Rifle Guards, lost in killed and wounded 21 besides a number buried, by shells and other missiles. Lieut. D. W. Pitts, privates Wm. H. Hill & Robert Mitchell were killed. Corporal Wm. H. Long was wounded in the left arm, badly; private James Harwood, right arm, badly. Anderson Walker, left arm, slightly; Andrew Walker, left thigh, badly; Robert Henly right knee, badly; George Sayre left hip, badly; Thomas Edwards left leg, badly. Edward Gouldman, head, slightly. Levine Lane, right knee, badly; Robert H. Smith, right foot, badly. Joel F. Jones, left knee, badly, amputated. Willis Gray, thigh, slightly; Edward F. [new page] Christian, right hand, badly. J. H. Montgomery, right ankle slightly. Joseph Muse, left thigh, badly. Benj Locket leg & back, slightly. Thomas Hudson was taken

prisoner. Capt. Clarke, T. B. Smith, Pat Hutcherson, W. O. Hudson, A. P. Monaghan and others were considerably bruised. Indeed the greater portion of those of the Company engaged in the fight, presented a singular spectacle after the fight was over. Some had their clothes & caps riddled with balls, others had their haversacks and canteens pierced with bullet holes, some had their guns battered & bruised, others had lost their shoes, hat & caps, and others still had their clothes torn into rags by the bushes, briars and fences; all showing the severe conflict in which they had been engaged, the severe trials and sufferings to which they had been exposed & the wonderful and miraculous escape from death, which they had made. Although the conflict was a severe one, and the lives of the men exposed almost every moment; still, in the midst of the storm of death and courage, many an amusing occurrence transpired which, for the time being, was a source of amusement and fun for the boys.

Occasionally, a *bomb shell* [new page] would burst in their midst, or just over their heads, which would cause a general dodging and falling down occasionally a piece of *bomb* would topple one of the boys topsy turvy without doing any serious damage; a minnie ball would come whizzing and knock a hole into some fellows canteen letting out his water, or tear open his haversack and spoil his dinner. These were sources of amusement, and would cause roars of laughter. In the midst of the merriment, a comrade would have his cap taken off by a ball, another would have his gun knocked out of his hand, and a third would be covered with the dirt and sand thrown up by a cannon ball. At one time five or six members of the company became detached from the company, and in hunting about for their own regiment, fell in with a Yankee regiment and marched some distance with it before they discovered their mistake. Fortunately the Yanks did not discover the mistake and the boys slipped out. At another time, two members of the company, who had become disabled from exhaustion, and who had crawled off to a branch of water, were visited by a number of Yanks. The boys fearing lest they should be taken prisoners resorted to stratagem. One of them played the *wounded* soldier, and [new page] the other a wounded Yank. The ruse was successful and the boys escaped. Often, and often have these and a hundred other incidents of a similar character been related around the camp fire, which never fail to create roars of laughter. On tuesday

evening after the battle, the 4th Ala. Regiment moved its camp, from near Manassas, about six miles, immediately on the line of the battle field, and about half a mile from where Shermans battery was taken. Here the Regiment remained for several days, exposed to the weather, sleeping on the ground, without tents, and with but little to eat. All the water they could get, was taken from a muddy, sluggish branch, in which, *madam rumor* says, there were lying a number of dead Yanks.

The stench created by the dead carcasses, both of horses and Yanks, soon became so intolerable, that the Regiment was forced to seek a more congenial clime. It moved its camp some two or three miles nearer to Manassas where it remained for some days. But finding that the health of the Regiment was constantly growing worse on account of the exposure, water and other causes, it was resolved to break up camp again and move up near Bristoe Station, some four or [new page] five miles above Manassas, on the Orange and Alexandria Rail Road. Here the Regiment remained, encamped in a beautiful cedar grove, with a tolerable supply of good spring water, and sheltered from the weather by their tents, until wednesday morning the 18th of September, when it took up its line of march to a point on the Potomac river. A few days after the battle of the 21st an election was held by the Canebroke R. Guards, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Lieut. D. W. Pitts. The vacancy was filled by the electing of Bush Jones to fill the duties of the office. The elevation of Jones to the office had been brought about by a system of election working, which caused great dissatisfaction with the officers, and a large number of privates in the company, and tended in a great measure to disturb the peace, harmony and good feeling of the officers and members. Capt. Clarke, was appointed Major of the Regiment to serve during the absence of Major Scott who was wounded in the battle on the 21st.

The following new members have been added to the company, as recruits, since the arrival of the Regiment at Harpers Ferry, viz. on the 14th June T. K. Hooper, 20th June [new page] H. C. Graves & W. W. Graves, 30th June Thos B. Smith and Benj. T. Shield, 16th July Alex Sledge, Jas. H. Kornegay & Levin Lane. Aug 1st P. Mack Walker. Aug 26th Saml F Bondurant, Jno. R. Dollins, Joseph P. Johnson, John, H. Martin, W.

J. Narmore, Francis A. Pope, Cargil, M. Wright, J. N. Boggs, & Thos. P. Morgan. The following members have been honorably discharged from Service, viz. J. Edgar Ware on the 12th June, Austin Aycocke July 25th, P. D. Forness July 25, Joe Perkins, R. D. Henly July 30th Levin Lane died at Culpepper Co. Ho. on the 1st Aug. from wounds recieved in the battle. As strange as it may seem, this is the only one of our number, that has not been saved; and it is generally believed, had Lane's leg been amputated at an earlier stage he too could have been saved. At the present date, (Sept 23rd) all of *our* wounded are doing well, and nearly all of them bid fair to recover. Joel P. Jones, who had his leg amputated a few weeks since, is rapidly recovering, and will be able to return home in a short time. Jones left Culpepper Co. Ho. for Ala. on the 30th Oct. [new page]

While the company were at Camp Jones, near Bristoe, a circumstance occured, which created a vast amount of amusement and fun. Capt. Clarke, of the Canebrakes (as has been shown) had been temporarily appointed Major of the Regiment. The boys thinking there was a good opening for fun determined to have it although it might beat the expense of some of their own number. They at once commenced looking around for a *victim* to be sacrificed; and finally pitched upon James Philips. They represented to him, that in as much as Capt Clarke had been appointed Major of the Regiment, Lieut. Colman was now Captain, and Lieut. Terrell 1st Lieut; which would leave the office of 2nd Lieut vacant. They persuaded him to run for the office, and told him he could be easily elected. Philips, believing the statement, readily consented to run, turned out to electionuring, and made many fair promises as to what he would do if elected. The matter being generally understood was humored by the boys. All things being ready, the time was set for the election; the company drawn up in line, and each one required to deposit his ticket. According to previous arrangement James Cornega was the opposing candidate. The votes were counted out, and Philips declared [new page] elected by six or seven votes. The result caused a shout; and the boys gathered around Philips to congratulate him on his success. He was immediately installed into office, and a sword presented to him. Coleman & Terrell both being absent (by agreement) the newly elected officer was put in charge of a "squad" and required to drill them, which duty he performed to the *best of his*

ability. The next morning at "roll call" Philips was not in the line as usual, but had taken his stand with the Lieutenants. The Orderly Sergeant ordered him to fall into line which he seemed slow to do. The orderly again ordered him into line, when Philips became very indignant, and remarked to the "Orderly", that he wanted him to understand, he was 2nd Lieut of this Company, and did not intend to be treated in such disrespectful manner, and if he was not more respectful in his language to his superior officers, he should have him arrested. The boys could hold in no longer, but broke forth in peals of laughter, when Philips began to smell a "mice". The Orderly told Philips if he did not fall into line immediately he should have him arrested and sent to the guard house. [new page] Poor Philips finding that his election was all a *sham*, and that he had suffered the boys to make a "fool" of him, was terribly mortified, commenced to decline, was taken quite ill, applied for, and obtained a discharge and put out home.

On Wednesday morning the 18th of September, the Regiment broke up camp and started in the direction of Dumfries, on the Potomac. On Friday the 20th they pitched their tents, in a very pretty location (with an abundant supply of wood and water near at hand) about one mile from the town of Dumfries, and five miles from Evansport, at which point are located our batteries. As the Regiment had been located at this point, to aid in the defense of the batteries, in case of an attack, the boys had but little to do outside of the regular routine of duties. As the Hessians seemed indisposed to molest us, for the time being, the boys had ample time to drill, and render themselves comfortable by little fixtures and conveniences about the camp. The change of location, water & , soon began to tell favourably on the health of the Regiment; and in a few weeks, the regiment was in better condition than it had been since the battle of Manassas. The tedium of camp life was occasionally, [new page] interrupted by a report, that the Yanks were crossing the river, which sometimes resulted in a very pleasant and agreeable tramp to the Potomac to stand picket all night. Occasionally, a steamer, or a Schooner would attempt to pass the batteries, when the booming of the cannon would cause all hands to rush out of the tents to see the fun. About a hundred and fifty yards of our camp (where our hospital was located) there is a beautiful view of the river, where all the firing at the battery can be distinctly

Such orders are however peremptory and must be obeyed at whatever sacrifice of ease, comfort or expense. The tents were soon "struck", baggage packed and the boys on the march. The Regiment reached its new [new page] camp, about five miles distant, a little before night. This new camp was *up* the river, on the road leading from Dumfries in the direction of Ocouscon, and about a mile to the right of the road near neabeer creek. The camp was located in a recently cultivated wheat field, on the slope of a steep precipitous hill side, near a large farm house, owned by a Mr. Robertson of Forquin Co. A more disagreeable and unpleasant spot for a camp could not well be conceived of. We had scarcely finished pitching our tents, when a cold, disagreeable rain set in, accompanied by a stiff breeze from the south west. Those who have never enjoyed the *felicities* of camp life, but have enjoyed the luxuries, of warm houses, good beds and a supply of covering, are illy prepared to appreciate a night's rest in a tent, during a cold night, with but one blanket to cover with, the cold, wet ground for a bed, a knapsack for a pillow and the sharp prints of rocks for a mattress. The ground soon became very muddy and sloppy, and even inside many of the tents, it was nearly as muddy and wet, as out side.

Between ten and Eleven o'clock at night the Col., made a requisition for a spad of men from each company, with axes etc. to clean out a ford on the _____ so as to allow our artillery to play upon the Yanks, should they attempt [new page] to cross. The boys started on their mission, and after accomplishing their mission, returned to camp just before day. The present camp was so muddy and disagreeable, that it was almost unendurable. A number of Officers were sent out to select a more desirable location. They returned and reported, that a very good camping ground could be made in a piece of woodland a half mile off, by

cutting down the undergrowth, and cleaning off the leaves, rocks and rubbish.

A squad of men was immediately detailed from each company to clean off the ground and prepare it for a camp. This required several days owing to the number of large trees to be felled, and the quantity of logs and brush to be removed. The work was accomplished on Thursday evening; trees cut, logs rolled, brush taken off, rocks heaped, leaves piled and burnt, and every thing ready for an early move in the morning. But Soldiers are often doomed to disappointments, and not unfrequently find their cup of joy and happiness dashed to the ground when they are least expecting it. The morning dawned, (cold and frosty, with considerable ice) and with it, came an order to march immediately. Here was a sad disappointment, but soldiers are so much accustomed to [new page] them, that they soon learn to bear them patiently. Our tents were again struck, and we took up our line of march, not knowing whither we were going. After marching six or eight miles, through farms and old fields, we again pitched our tents, near the camps of the Miss. & North Carolina Regiments, and about a mile from Gen. Whiting's headquarters. This camp was named "Camp Fisher", but was called by the boys "Camp Crawfish", in consequence of the marshy, crawfishy nature of the ground. As it was generally understood, by both officers and men, that we should remain here for some considerable length of time, the boys again commenced fixing up little conveniences to make themselves comfortable. We had just succeeded in making ourselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit, when, on Friday the 1st of Nov. we were again ordered to march. We were soon on the march, in the direction of Dumfries, and just before night found ourselves back at our old camp ("Camp Law"), much to our gratification and pleasure. On Saturday the 25th of Oct, while at Camp Fisher, an election was held for Col. of the Regiment, which resulted in the almost unanimous vote for Lieut. Col. Law, he having received every vote cast, *except four*, which were thrown for acting Col. Alston [new page] This vote was highly complimentary to Col. Law, and showed his popularity, and the high appreciation of his qualities both as a gentleman and brave and gallant officer. Indeed Col. Law is the *idol* of the 4th Ala.

We had just reached Camp Law, and finished pitching our tents, when it commenced to rain, which continued to increase, until the terrible storm, (which raged along the Southern Coast, and played such sad havoc with Lyncoln's great fleet) burst upon us in all its fury. It was a terrible night, and one long to be remembered by those, who were alone dependent on the light and fragile tenements, composed of tent-cloth, to shelter them from the fearful storm. The rain poured down in torrents; and the wind blew in fearful gales, blowing down almost every thing in its course. Many of our tents were either blown over, or torn into tatters, leaving the unfortunate inmates without a shelter and entirely exposed to the peltings of the pitiless storm. Every now and then, during the night; some of the boys would squall out, *tent gone!* which would cause loud shouting and peals of laughter from their more fortunate neighbors. The tents that remained standing were saved from toppling over, by being held up, or [new page] propped up during the night. Many of the hospital tents blew over, and left the sick inmates exposed to the storm until other arrangements could be made. Every thing, about the encampment, presented a sad and gloomy aspect, on Saturday morning. Tents lying in every direction; blankets, clothing, guns, knapsacks and accoutrements all soaked, and many of the boys thoroughly wet.

LETTERS OF REV. W. H. MITCHELL, JAN. 1861

Edited by Virginia K. Jones, Manuscripts Librarian
Department of Archives and History

The Republic of Alabama lasted from January 11 to February 4, 1861, twenty-five days; then Alabama became one of the Confederate States of America. From one of the crowds who stood in the Hall of the Capitol to witness "the birth of our Republic" we have a full account of the beginning of these days. The Department of Archives and History has two very excellent letters written by Dr. W. H. Mitchell, given with several other papers by his son, Judge John Jackson Mitchell, May 1910.

William Henry Mitchell was born in Ireland in 1812, attended Belfast College, married Annie Jane Byrne, and came to Montgomery, Alabama, about 1840. In December, 1843, he became pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Wetumpka, and served this church and the church at Prattville until he moved to Florence in 1850 to become the minister of the Presbyterian Church there. In August, 1851, he married Martha Jackson Andrews, the widow of Robert Andrews and the daughter of James Jackson of "The Forks" near Florence.

Dr. Mitchell was a friend of several of the leading delegates to the Convention called to meet in Montgomery by Governor Moore. On January 10, 1861, Dr. Mitchell wrote for his wife a careful description of the people and happenings he encountered in the city. He was very much aware of the great historic importance of the occasion, and the next day he sent a longer letter with a full, graphic and detailed account of the momentous events to his Martha. These two letters were published in the *Montgomery Advertiser* fifty years ago.

Exchange Hotel

Montgomery

Jany 10 1860 [1861]

My dear Wife,

We arrived here safely last night at 10 o'clock and found every thing in a perfect whirl of excitement. Military companies

in uniform and some of them en route to Pensacola to take the Fort. Among them today I saw *Captain Ferguson*¹ formerly of the Wesleyan University. His Company is composed of youth from 18 to 22 years old. The Sessions of the Convention are secret. The impression is that Alabama will go out tomorrow. There was quite a crowd waiting in the Hall—hoping that the doors of the Convention would be opened. In the Senate Chambers a *mock* convention was called and regularly organized, with all the officers. One of the members of the real Convention happened to come and he was immediately elected door keeper, which high position he very respectfully declined, and retired. Judge Meek² was elected President. He announced that the Sessions were *secret*—that gentlemen would please to recollect that fact; there was no necessity to admonish the ladies, *who always kept secrets*. A committee consisting of Judges Mason³ & Moore⁴ were elected to draft resolutions. They soon brought in a Resolution that Alabama now resume her original powers and be declared from henceforth a free and independent Sovereignty. Speeches were made by Hon. Ben Yancy⁵ Commissioner from Georgia⁶—by Judge Chilton⁷ & your friend Judge Phelan⁸. Some of the speeches were excellent. Thus past the morning. We dined at Hotel and after dinner went to see Mrs. Yancy & family; also

¹Frederick Summerfield Ferguson (1841-1915) was graduated from Florence Wesleyan University, July, 1859. He organized a military company at Tallassee in 1859, and was in the expedition to Pensacola in 1861.

²Alexander B. Meek (1814-1865), author, editor and lawyer, was judge of the Probate Court at Tuscaloosa, 1842-1845, and of the Probate Court at Mobile, 1854-1855. He served in the State Legislature and was Speaker of the House, 1859-1861.

³Wylie W. Mason, Chancellor, 1845-1851, was elected to the State Legislature from Macon County in 1861.

⁴Sydenham Moore (1817-1862) was judge of the Greene County Court, 1840-1846 and 1848-1850, judge of the Circuit Court in 1847. He was serving in Washington as Representative from Alabama from March 4, 1857 until January 21, 1861, when he withdrew.

⁵Benjamin Cudworth Yancey (1817-1891), State Senator, 1855-1858, Minister to the Argentine Republic, 1858-1859. He was co-editor with his brother, William Lowndes Yancey, of the *Wetumpka Argus* in 1840.

⁶The Commissioner from Georgia was John William Augustus Sanford (1798-1870) of Milledgeville, Georgia, father of J. W. A. Sanford (1825-1913) of Montgomery, Alabama.

⁷William Parish Chilton (1810-1871), Associate Justice, 1848-1852, and Chief Justice of the Alabama Supreme Court, 1853-1855.

⁸John Dennis Phelan (1810-1879), Supreme Court Judge, 1852-1856; Clerk of the Alabama Supreme Court, 1856-1864.

Mrs. Whiting's Folks⁹—first from home—last at dinner.

I met a great many old friends who seemed very glad to see me. I promised to preach for brother Petrie¹⁰ Sunday morning. I am invited with Mr. Patton¹¹ to a party at Col Watts¹² tonight. I suppose it will be a big gathering. I do not know whether I shall go. I may probably go for an hour.

These seems to be no doubt, you may tell your brother Jim¹³, that the Ordinance of Secession will pass tomorrow or next day, at farthest. Such is the prevailing opinion; but, there is always uncertainty until the thing shall have been done.

Have been taken for Douglas¹⁴ first by the waiter at the table, and by several politicians during the course of the day. Rather strange.

We are truly in the midst of a tremendous crisis. You doubtless have heard that the President sent a sloop of war to reinforce Major Anderson and that the South Carolinians fired three shots into her, when they retired. Anderson sent to know whether it was done by orders of the Executive. He was informed that it was. His reply was that he would consider it an act of war.

Considerable apprehension prevails lest the North Alabama delegation should secede from the Convention. I do not think they will. The present appearances squint considerably towards Mr Patton as the next Governor. The last remark is intended for your own ear only. I hope Johnny & all the children are well. Mr. dear Martha, if there is the slightest *necessity* you must Telegraph me to come home. Write me here care Mr. Patton. I had several invitations to go to Wetumpka and also to Prattville. Saw Mr. Tarleton and Mrs. T.—this morning for a few minutes. Mrs T—sent love to you, Mary & Ann; desired to

⁹The Yanceys lived on Perry Street between Grove and South Streets, the Whitings on Perry Street between Grove and High Streets.

¹⁰George Hollinshead Whitefield Petrie (1812-1885), minister of the Presbyterian Church in Montgomery, 1857-1885.

¹¹Robert Miller Patton (1809-1885), owner of many acres of land near Florence, was State Legislator, 1832-1861, and Governor of Alabama, 1865-1867.

¹²Thomas Hill Watts (1819-1892) with William Lowndes Yancey formed the delegation from Montgomery County to the Secession Convention; was Governor of Alabama, 1863-1865.

¹³James Jackson (1822-1879), son of James and Sarah (Moore) McCollough Jackson of Florence, and brother-in-law of Dr. Mitchell.

¹⁴Stephen Arnold Douglas (1813-1861), Senator from Illinois, was presidential candidate of the northern wing of the Democratic Party in 1860, and was defeated by Lincoln, candidate of the Republican Party.

be kindly remembered to Sarah & Jim¹⁵. You se I have written a long letter with one of these steel pens which I can only make scratch. It is a time for sincere ardent prayer for Divine direction. May the Lord be with us all. Love to each of the dear children.

Ever yr devotedly attentive husband
W. H. Mitchell

The missing money is all right I suppose
Did you not take the seventy dollar for Mr Penland¹⁶ out of it?
Mrs. W. H. Mitchell
Florence
Ala.

Republic of Alabama!
January 11, 1861

My dear Wife:

I have spent a most fatiguing day. From ten o'clock until four I have been *standing* in anxious expectation in the Hall of the Capitol awaiting the birth of our Republic. The excitement was most intense—all crowding around the door of the Hall of Representatives where the Convention was in Secret Session, in anxious expectation of its opening. About two o'clock the door keeper gave orders to several persons to take up the new State flag which was accordingly done and the flag was held in a horizontal position towards the woor. The door was then closed again much to our chagrin; and nearly half an hour elapsed when it was opened amid the most deafening cheers. The scene that followed was perfectly thrilling. The galleries were crowded with ladies and gentlemen. The flag as calmly unfurled and held out so as to display its beauty. Then followed the most deafening cheers and peals of applause, amid which the great Alabamian¹⁷ dressed in homespun arose and said, Mr. President & Gentlemen of the Convention on behalf of the ladies of Montgomery I present this Flag of the State of Alabama: to say it

¹⁵Mary and Anne were daughters of Dr. Mitchell; Sarah and Jim were sister and brother of Mrs. Mitchell.

¹⁶Alexander Penland (1818-1896), Presbyterian minister who served several churches and devoted much time to teaching in academies in northern Alabama.

¹⁷William Lowndes Yancey (1814-1863), delegate to the Secession Convention from Montgomery, had been a member of the church in Wetumpka of which Dr. Mitchell was pastor.

is presented by ladies who are beautiful would be but the least part of their praise! for beauty is the least desirable of woman's perfections. This is presented by the noble-hearted, pure and patriotic *women* of Montgomery, on whose cheeks the dew of regret (for the departure of sons & brothers who have gone to fight their Country's battles) have not yet dried. On one side of this flag is painted the goddess of liberty with a sword drawn to defend her rights; above her is the motto "Liberty Now & For Ever" and at one side the single star of Alabama. On the other field is a cotton plant to indicate the source of our material wealth, and beneath it is a rattle snake coiled to manifest our determination to defend our rights. It is coiled, because ours is not an aggressive position; and above is the motto "Noli me tangere" ("Touch me not") The rattle snake is peaceable & harmless until disturbed; but death to the individual who assaults it. Such is our position. We make no war on others, but we bide the power which essays to crush our liberties. We present this flag then to wave over the Capitol of our new Republic, with its glorious motto—"Liberty Now & For Ever." Then again followed peal after peal of applause.

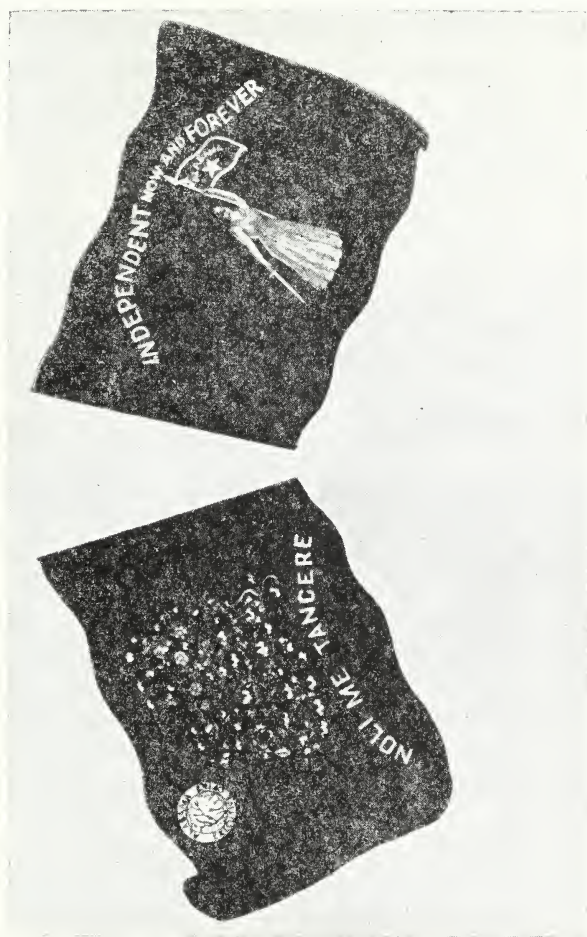
The flag being accepted, that gentleman from Tuscaloosa known as little Billy Smith¹⁸ got up and made a beautiful speech stating that he envied not the man who had unmingled emotions of exultation at the consumation which had just occurred. That when he saw that flag unfurled his mind recurred to the old Stars and Stripes which had been unfurled on sea & land; and which had led us on to battle and to victory; beneath which even the British Lion cowered. He had tears of regret for the past but he had joyful emotion in view of the present; and much as he regretted the necessity of the separation, now that the Single Star was unfurled he would always be found the advocate of Alabama's rights and "liberty now & for Ever."

Then we had a very rhetorical speech from Baker of Barbour¹⁹ thanking the ladies.

Next was a public meeting on the steps of the Capitol—large very large and enthusiastic. The first person called was our friend Mr. Patton who proclaimed his readiness to concur in the action of his State and pledging the people of North Ala-

¹⁸William Russell Smith (1815-1896), delegate from Tuscaloosa County.

¹⁹Alpheus Baker (1825-1891), delegate from Barbour County.



Flag of the Republic of Alabama.

bama who were as pure & loyal & patriotic in their feelings towards the States as any other portion of it.

Judge Jones²⁰ was called & did likewise. So did several other members in favor of co-operation, amongst them Mr. Jemison²¹, one of the oldest Sentors—from Tuscaloosa.

Bells were ringing—cannons firing a steam boat whistling. Take it altogether it was one of the most stirring—enthusiastic & thrilling scenes I ever witnessed. It is going dark and I must close. I am going to tea to Dr. Petrie's. Goodbye. May the Lord bless you and the children.

Ever yr devotedly attentive husband

Vote 61 to 39

W. H. Mitchell

Mrs. W. H. Mitchell

Florence

Alabama

Dr. Mitchell was a dedicated minister and in addition was enthusiastically devoted to the cause of the South. It had been his custom during the church services to pray for the Confederacy, for the President and his cabinet, for the Army, for the success of the Confederate cause, and also for the enemy. On Sunday, July 27, 1862, he found assembled among the congregation a large number of Federal soldiers. Considering himself the pastor of his stated congregation, rather than of those who were but transient hearers, he conducted the worship in his usual way and made the usual prayer. As soon as the prayer was ended, many of the soldiers marched out of the church and stood about the church yard and doorway, talking loudly. About a third of the soldiers remained seated with the town folk and listened to the sermon. Soon Col. John Marshall Harlan, a Kentuckian, later Justice of the United States Supreme Court, re-

²⁰Henry Cox Jones (1821-1913), delegate from Lauderdale County. He refused to sign the Ordinance of Secession, but later served in the Confederate Congress in Richmond, and manufactured supplies for the Confederate Government at his home on the Tennessee River. He was the grandfather of George Bliss Jones, trustee of the Department of Archives and History from the Eighth District.

²¹Robert Jemison (1802-1871), delegate from Tuscaloosa County.

turned, walked up the aisle to the pulpit, interrupted the preaching, and announced that the service was over and Dr. Mitchell was under arrest. The undaunted pastor was taken from his pulpit, put under guard, and marched from the church to the tent of the provost marshal. Dr. Mitchell was confined for several months in the military prison in Alton, Illinois, until, through the intervention of friends in the Federal lines, he was released and allowed to return home.

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THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

PETER A. BRANNON, *Editor*



Published by the
State Department
of
Archives and History

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FALL AND WINTER ISSUE

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EDITORIAL

The current numbers of the *Quarterly* continue the program to make available to the research student pertinent facts relative to Alabama in the Confederacy. These several chapters illustrate the rich collection of material which is embodied in the files of the Department of Archives and History. During the course of the years commemorative of the period of the Confederacy other papers of a similar nature will be presented.

P. A. B.

THE 4TH ALABAMA REGIMENT AT THE BATTLE OF MANASSAS¹

We return our thanks to a distinguished Alabamian, recently from Richmond, who sent us the following communication, in which he gives the only full list, we have seen, of the number of killed and wounded in the Fourth Alabama Regiment, and pays a just and glowing tribute to these gallant defenders of our rights, liberties and lives. It will be perceived that the loss in killed and wounded, amounts to one hundred eighty-two—about one-fifth or one-sixth of the whole number, bearing mournful attestation to their unconquerable courage and desperate determination to win the day:

Richmond, July 29, 1861

Although this Regiment suffered more than any other that was engaged in the battle, and covered itself and the State with immortal honor, but little has yet been said about it in the papers. The following is a correct statement of the numbers killed and wounded in the different companies:

<i>Companies</i>	<i>Killed</i>	<i>Wounded</i>
Capt. Goldsby, Dallas County,	7	17
Capt. Mastin, Madison County	1	4
Capt. Clark, Perry County	3	19
Capt. Tracy, Madison County	6	14
Capt. Dawson, Dallas County	4	17
Capt. McFarland, Lauderdale County	10	23
Capt. Bowles, Conecuh County	3	17
Capt. Lindsay, Jackson County	1	7
Capt. King, Perry County	0	15
Capt. Dryer, Marengo County	1	12
<i>Total</i>	36	143

All three of the field officers, Col. Jones, Lieutenant Colonel Law and Major Scott, were wounded; making total, killed

¹ **Daily Florence Gazette**, Aug. 5, 1861, copied from the **Huntsville Democrat**, July 31, 1861.

thirty six, wounded one hundred and forty six; together one hundred and eighty two.

Among the killed are the following officers:—Capt. Lindsey, of Jackson; First Lieutenant J. C. Turner, of Huntsville and First Lieutenant John Simpson, Jr. of Florence.

Owing to its particularly exposed position, Capt. McFarland's company from Lauderdale county, suffered more severely than any other in the Regiment, or, indeed, in the whole army. Out of fifty eight men in line when the battle began, ten were killed on the field and twenty three wounded, leaving but twenty five unhurt, and of these nearly every man was either struck by a spent ball or had holes shot through his hat or clothes. The following list is the list of killed and wounded in this company:

Killed — First Lieutenant John Simpson Jr., Privates Lucius Lorange, W. T. N. Smith, Z Ives, F. G. Bourland, R. T. Borough, Thomas J Stone, Wm Andrews, Pulaski Caicut and J Zells.

Wounded — Orderly Sergeant H O Pettus, Corporal McDonald (badly). Privates James Jackson (severely), N F B , C D Stewart, Marion Horse (badly) L B Waits, C Weems, W Moss, R W Foster, Alex. McAlexander (severely), Thos. Kirkman, Jr., John C Posey (severely), Muncel Rice, Robt Andrews, Jason Hendrix, Henry Richardson, Geo. Weaver, C. Rowekk, Wm Scott, B B Foster, ——— Towry.

Throughout the battle, the whole Regiment, both officers and men, behaved nobly. The disadvantages of their position were terrible. Owing, it is said, to some mistake in the transmission of an order from Gen Bee, they were made to assume a position in front of the enemy outnumbering them four to one, and with every conceivable disadvantage of ground against them. In the face of this fearful odds, they stood for three hours under the murderous fire which the enemy, with his overwhelming numbers and from his comparatively protected position, poured upon them. With heroic constancy they held their ground, held in check the advancing column of the enemy; not a man left the ranks, and no thought of retreat was given to retire. It may be safely asserted that never did veterans of a hundred

fields exhibit more undaunted courage and more unshaken firmness. Col. Jones greatly distinguished himself by his cool, collected courage and fearless exposure of his person throughout the conflict. His horse was shot from under him and a ball passed through his hip, wounding him severely, but not mortally—Lieutenant Colonel Law and Major Scott was, also, conspicuous—they were both wounded and disabled.

For the first time in her history, the soliders of Alabama have stood under the fire of the enemy, and nobly have they sustained the honor of the State. Since the battle, Gen. Beauregard has been known to speak warmly and in terms of special praise of the heroic firmness and gallant conduct of the Fourth Alabama Regiment. The troops opposed to them were the very flower of the Northern army—the Seventy-First New York and Rhode Island Regiments and some companies of United States Regulars. The thinned ranks of those troops will show how well our brave boys handled their guns. We do not dobut that all of our Alabama Regiments will do well wherever an opportunity presents, but we may venture to predict that none of them will ever surpass the Spartan constancy, the heroic courage, displayed by the gallant Fourth on the bloody field of Manassas.

THE PIONEER BANNER: A CONFEDERATE CAMP NEWSPAPER

The first Confederate volunteers went gaily off to the "phony war" before the firing on Fort Sumter fearing nothing so much as losing a sweetheart or the opportunity actually to fight for the South. Between the "seat of war" and the home front a lively correspondence sprang up which abated only with the increasing scarcity of paper, ink, and pencils. But there was no shortage of paper in February 1861 when some of the young gallants of the Pioneer Guards ingeniously contrived by means of a manuscript newspaper named *The Pioneer Banner* to court *in absentia* all the young ladies at Eufaula's Union Female College. Only one and a half issues of *The Pioneer Banner* have survived the hundred years since they were written, and those were carefully and affectionately kept by Miss Florence Woods, later of Anniston, in a scrapbook which was presented to the Alabama Department of Archives and History.

The Pioneer Guards was an independent company made up of the cream of Eufaula's young men. As twelve month volunteers they were mustered into service in February, becoming Company A, First Alabama Infantry Regiment. They were immediately ordered to Pensacola to replace the Second Alabama Infantry, a ninety-day volunteer Regiment which had been ordered by Governor A. B. Moore, at the request of the Governor of Florida, to seize the federal installation in the vicinity of Pensacola.

Facing the ominous Fort Pickens, still in Union hands, with the possibility of open hostilities increasingly imminent, the editors of the *Banner* abandoned the projected tri-monthly publication, and with the second issue advertised it as appearing "semi-occasionally." Whether publication ceased with the second issue is not known. Neither is there a record of the identity of the Senior Editor and the Junior Editor, "2 of the S. C. of 4" or of "23. 10. 2." who was a contributor to the *Pioneer's* second issue. Following the photographic reproduction of the extant issues of *The Pioneer Banner* is a muster roll of the Pioneer Guards which may provide some clues. The original muster roll is filed in the Military Records Division of the Dept. of Archives and History.

THE PIONEER BANNER

Give us Liberty

or

Give us Death

Barrancas.

Saturday Morning,

February, 23rd, 1861.

The Pioneer Banner is Published Tri-Monthly for the young Ladies of the Union Female College.

Edited by two of the S.C. of L.

Ladies,

We arrived at Fort Barrancas seven days ago. Our Company the 1st Co. Guards, had quite an unpleasant trip of it. We had to walk thirty miles and we made it in eight hours, the only miles was a gap between the Alabama and Florida, R.R. When we were in sight of the old Iron Horse, it seemed to me that I heard every heart beat with joy. I know that I heard shouts of Cheers from every one. When we were on board of the Cars, every one seemed to be in good spirits. We arrived at Pensacola, at twelve o'clock at night. We went to the Hotel and had a good supper. Then we retired to our sleeping quarters which was provided for us by the kind citizens of Pensacola and had a pleasant night's sleep. We all awoke next morning fresh and ready for our journey. At eleven o'clock we all marched down to the wharf and took a small Schooner for the Navy Yard, which is seven miles from Pensacola. After we arrived at the yard we went ashore and buckled our

knapsacks, on our backs and marched for the Barracks, which is two miles from the Navy Yard.

We pitched our Tents that evening and at night had a tremendous wind and rain. We remained camped five days. Then we moved to Fort Barrancas, which is one mile from our old Camp. We are now garrisoned in Fort Barrancas which Fort has mounted forty guns and twenty of them are pointing on Fort Pickens and Fort Pickens has forty or fifty guns pointing on us. But after all of that we are ready and willing to fight them.

Fort Pickens is something larger than Fort Barrancas.

Fort Pickens is on Santa Rosa Island, one mile and a half south of Fort Barrancas.

Santa Rosa Island is sixty-two miles long and from three hundred yards to one and a half miles wide. Fort McRae is also larger than Fort Barrancas, but it is not so strong. Fort McRae is two miles south west of Fort Barrancas and one and an eighth miles north of Fort Pickens. The Fort is garrisoned by the "South Alabama Rangers" from Mobile. We sent them assistance yesterday to help mount guns. They will soon be ready to help us take Fort Pickens.

We have a Sand Battery thrown up and one gun mounted on the Battery. It is

an "Ola Columbiada" 54 Pounder. We can make
Fort Pickens, small Powder and Steel Balls from the
Battery. We have one more large gun to mount
The Sand Battery, is on the Beach just half
way between Fort McRae and Fort Barrancas.

We have to post Sentinels every night
at the Battery. We have four Sentinels
at the Battery and Six at Barrancas, they
stand twenty four hours rain or shine.

This Country is noted for its deep Sand.
Step out of the Fort and you are over your
Shoes in Sand. We have a hard time drill-
ing in it.

We have to Drill eight hours in the day, but
after all every thing looks beautiful. Now
asent it is to mount the Walls and watch
the Sun as he sinks behind the Western
mountain. Watch it as it casts its last rays
on the broad gulf. Oh! how beautiful!
just as He drops the Cannon is fired from
Fort Barrancas to note that another day
has passed in peace. When the Cannon is
fired the Colors drop. We have a beautiful
Banner, hoisted at the Capt. Quarters.
One at Fort McRae and one at Fort Barrancas.
after the firing of the Gun, all hands
(except the guard) retire to their quarters
for Supper. It would make you all laughing
to see some of them Cooking. Every man
knows his duty. Some will make fires some
bring Water. Some go to the Commissary
Some grind Coffee, whilst others are
cutting Meat and are doing various

other things, after the Meats are pre-
pared each Mess sits down or stands up to
eat it. after Supper is over we all
retire to the Fort, and at ten o'clock the Lights
are all out and every man to his bunk.

We often awake at midnight and
steal up in the Fort, and circum-
navigate the Walls and watch the Moon as she
finds her way Westward, and as she casts
her Silvery rays, over the mighty Water.
all nature is hushed in silence. Save
the beating of the Waters on the Beach.
We can never get tired of viewing this
Scenery. I wish ~~that~~ it was so the
Young Ladies, could take a peep into
our Fort. You would be made to laugh
and then to Weep.

We all anticipate a bloody fight.
It will take Ten or Twelve Thousand Men
to take Fort Pickens, and there will be
ten out of every three killed, but we
are willing to try them with a smaller
Force. We are bound to have Pickens.
We will have it by the fourth of March.

I will close this. I can not promise
the Young Ladies a very large paper for
we have not the time to write much, our
only time for writing is from eight to ten
at night. I hope that you all will over-
look all the errors in this, for as I said
before, our chances for Writing are rather
bad. I hope that it will not be long but
we will have the pleasure of seeing you

Let friends again. We have no Ladies in this part of the Country. I have not seen a Lady in ten or twelve days; this has never yet used too. We have the Young Ladies of the Union Female College. We accept the Pioneer Banner. We will endeavour to make it interesting. We have three friends that will assist us in writing.

23. 10. 2.

to the Young Ladies of the U. F. C.
We are tired of the Sea of War with a Brier bat in one hand and a big Club in the other ready to befriend you, and the rights of our beloved Alabama, and our prayers are liberty or death. We arrived here two weeks ago all in good health and we are now stationed at Fort Barrancas, which Fort is situated opposite Fort Pickens and is now occupied by our enemies. They have forty guns, with their great big mouths yawning arms and Oh! me. Oh they were named those, on us. I don't know what we will do. Our Colonel tells us we must run but that don't go down south for we come here to fight. Though I reckon the Col. knows best and being some what an old fogey has adopted the following adage.
He fights and runs away

Will live to fight another day.

But I have not time to tell you all about things here in this article. I must of necessity be short and leave you to decide whether or not I'm Sweet

I will conclude then by saying we are well provided for - feel tolerably comfortable and manage to sleep well at night.

Yours &c

Junior Editor

Dear Editors

As your dear little paper will be devoted principally news, events and descriptions from this part of the Country, permit me through its columns to notice the arrival of the Enfantas Rifles.

At a late hour on the night of the 21st. they arrived at Pensacola and at an early hour on the morning of the 22nd their familiar faces greeted us at the Navy Yard and as we shook heartily their hands all seemed to say "Long looked for come at last". They all looked well and appeared to be in fine spirits.

The 22nd. was a day of unusual interest to us and there was some display of Patriotism.

You know it was the birth day of the immortal Washington and in honor of that event 21 big guns from off Fort Barrancas spoke in declamatory tones. The men of War, lying near and around Fort Pickens and Fort Pickens also saluted the occasion. It really appeared to me while they

all were firing that War had actually commenced. During the performance my mind naturally turns upon what would be the result of an engagement and my conclusion was that it would be terrible. For a moment imagine the strength of Fort Pichens with her formidable guns and the power of those mighty Steamers of War, and then on the other hand think of the Navy Yard, Fort Barrancas The Sand Batteries and Fort McRae, in possession of brave men who will conquer or die, but it is not my intention to speculate.

The Rifles from all appearances have comfortable quarters and seem satisfied, where their final destination will be I am not as yet informed. I hope they will be stationed with or near the Pioneers for I feel like we are one company for want of time I must now close.

You will hear from me again soon.

Respectfully

Leland P.G.

The Eufaula Rifles.

This gallant Corps from our beloved City arrived at Barrancas Barracks at 12 o'clock yesterday they are all looking well and in fine spirits they number between ninety and one hundred, this is the third company from Harbors County the Harrier County of the State the three Companies number two hundred and seventy five nearly enough to take Pichens, anywhere we are willing to try it. ————— L. S. & Co. 20

POETRY

For The Pioneer Banner

To Miss — — of Eufaula

When memory scans the past
And all its pleasures lost
My heart grows sick within me
And I am tempest tossed
More so when I chance
To think of You fair one
And the time when the flowers long ago
Grew smiling in the Sun

But now those scenes are o'er

I am far far from thee

Oh if I had but here

Thy smiles to cheer me

I would contented be

And these barren sandy plains

Would be green swart to me

Refreshed by early rains

Yes thy presence would be light

To my benighted soul

And like warm Sun when the buds

And varied charms unfold

But alas I am sadder still —

Oh! my heart has cleaved —

I fear 'twell be long before

Thy gentle voice I hear

The Pioneer Banner.

"GIVE US LIBERTY OR GIVE US DEATH."

1.1 FORT BARRANCAS APRIL 20. 1861.

1 NO. 1

The Pioneer Banner is published semi-occasionally, for the Young Ladies of the Union Seminary College. It is Edited by one of the S. C. of U.

Apology.

We have been so much engaged for the past six weeks, that it was utterly impossible for us to issue the Banner before this. We hope the Young Ladies will excuse us. We are glad to say that we are allowed a little more time now, and will endeavor in future to cause the Banner to appear at its regular periods. We will moreover strive to make it as interesting as the circumstances will admit.

Sam. Taylor

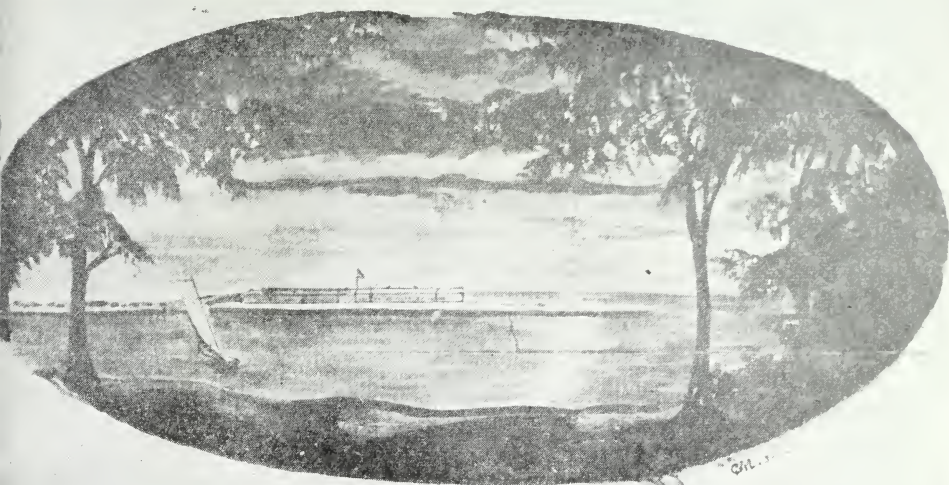
Editorial Gossip.

Everything is quiet in camp and all hands at work in good earnest. We are in the receipt of all kinds of news. One day, say, the next time, but we pay no attention to it whatever. As a to work of evening we and just the same as if nothing had happened. The news of the surrender of Sumter was received by the troops here with shouts of Joy. Every man, woman, and child (no not Women and children, we have none in camp) was in a good humor that day. The news of the secession of Old Virginia created a little excitement—some small quantities of gunpowder, we fired 8. S. Barrancas in honor of the Old Union. Light states out of the Old Union, and into the Southern Confederacy, we say. Hurrah for C. S. A.

All of the combined forces of the North shall not make us submit to the yoke of a Black Republican. We are getting rather off the track. We set to tell you how Every body, and Every body's friends and brothers were. If you will take our words for it. We will say that they are getting along Elegant. All pleased and high delighted at the idea of taking Fort Pickens soon, and looking forward to that day with a good deal of anxiety. We are all in excellent health, and manage to eat our allowance with help. We are living a good deal better than we did a few months ago. The pay master has been round settling up old scores, and we are well supplied with pocket change.

When the hour was announced for to receive pay, we were all drawn up in line and the Roll called. We assure you that no one was absent on that occasion. Thus the promptitude of military discipline was strikingly illustrated. We have no sickness in camp, and have the honor of being better off than any first company in the 1st Regiment. 4th, 12 mo. 20. We are well pleased with our Field Officers—Col. H. D. Clegg, Lieut. Col. G. W. Steadman, Major J. W. Williams, and a 1st Quarter Master W. L. Johnston. We are also well pleased with our Company Officers, have a good Captain and no mistake. So see, we are all well satisfied, and will remain here 12 mo. if necessary. So hoping that you will be pleased with our Gossip, we bid you adieu.

Sam. Taylor



FORT PICKENS. BY MOONLIGHT.

The above is a representation of Fort Pickens, by moonlight. Drawn by our Special Artist, on the spot. The ladies must excuse any inaccuracies from the distance which the Artist was compelled to occupy whilst making the sketch. He hopes, at no distant period to give you a nearer view, when it will probably be brilliantly illuminated by a Pyre technique dipping of fire works. Till then he remains Yours respectfully

Paulo Cragenda

PERSONAL.

On Sunday last we had the pleasure of grasping the hand of the Rev. Mr. E. W. Davis. He is in fine health and reports everybody well at Buffalo. We are sorry that it was so that he could not preach for us whilst he was here. He left yesterday for Buffalo but we are glad to learn that he will return again in a few days. We have not had the pleasure of hearing a sermon since we left our little City.

Dear Sir,

Mac Day

Mac came in beautiful and bright, the parade ground of the Mississippi. It presented a striking and picturesque scene, dotted as it was with the various uniforms of different corps. The flag and red pants (a la mescal) of the Bonapartes formed a pleasing contrast with the "Rough and ready" uniforms of the other soldiers. The fair Queen was a fine specimen of the genus homo, stood six feet two in stockings, was fair as a Virginia rail fence after a hurricane, and profusely decorated with branches of pine. — Jones —

More Gossip

A few evenings ago one of our young men (we will not mention names) — "A High Private" got permission from Capt. Clark to attend a party at Harrington, given by the Young Ladies, and in his return at 12:00 o'clock at night he was halted by the Sentinel. The said young man had a pass in one hand and a Bequest in the other. (We call it a flag of truce) and the countersign — but it was no go, he was marched to the Guard House. He did not exactly break in, but came very near it. He was released by the officer of the Guard. This is the

MUSTER ROLL

Of Captain J. W. Clark's Company "A" the Pioneer Guards of the 1st Regiment, Alabama Volunteers, in the service of the Confederate States for Twelve Months unless sooner discharged. Sept. 20th 1861, Warrington, Fla.

<i>Names</i>	<i>Rank</i>
John W. Clark	Captain
Joseph W. Butt	1st Lieutenant
Robert Flournoy	2nd Lieutenant
Patrick J. Ryan	Jr. 2nd Lieutenant
Nathaniel H. Thornton	1st Sergt.
William A. Butt	2nd "
James M. Brown	3rd "
George W. Lillie	4th "
Aaron Stevens	5th "

Daniel T. Lester	1st Corporal
James Gartman	2nd "
Augustus J. DuBose	3rd "
Colquitt C. Engram	4th "
Marton J. Lewis	
Johnson D. Bush	

<i>Privates</i>	<i>Privates</i>
Thomas W. Anderson	Glass John
Thomas J. Brannon	Gaston William, A.
Baker, James J. S.	Hunter, R. W.
Buckland Edward	Hartosing, John
Ballard William L	Hart, Charles, B.
Barefield John	Hubner, Henry
Cox William G	Hoskins, Thomas
Collins Thomas	Jones, Peyton, W.
Corbett Furman	Johnston, William, T.
Corbett James	Knoble, John
Carter, Clayton T.	Lunsford, Franklin
Clark Samuel L	Lunsford, Steven

Coleman John T
Cryan Dominick
Cherry Robert
Bowder G. C
Creyon James J
Driggers John
Durkin Michael
Daniel James B
Boatwright George W.
Ellis, Jessie, J.
Flournoy, Osborn, R.
Fruman, George, W.
Fouch, William
Florence, Adam, H.
Florence, Thomas, J.
Folson, James, M.
Gillispie, William H
Griffith, Moses
Gibbons, Steven, W.
Glass William
Smith, Turner
Starrett, Clark
Storrs, Edward
Thornton, Reuben, J.
Toy, George
White, William, H.
Waits, Augustus
Wellborn, Consantine
Wellborn, William, R.

Lunsford, Joseph, H.
Lewis Jackson H
McKenzie, W. Julian
McIntyre, James
McGuire, James, M.
Maddock, James, R.
O'Brien, George
O'Hara, Augustus, A.
Poston, James R.
Pugh, Whitson
Parrish, James
Robinson, Sylvaneous, G.
Ryals, James, M.
Rousseau, William. T.
Roderick, John
Rigsby, Lewis, H.
Rigsby, John, C.
Roquemore, John, T.
Stevens, Henry
Southwick, Davis, L.
Williams, Thomas
Waller, Henry E.
Watson, Joseph, H.
Watson, James, M.
Winn John
Ward Neal
Haymaker James
Hunt Lewis

THE ESCAPE OF MELVIN THORNTON FROM CAMP BUTLER, ILLINOIS

Edited by William Warren Rogers

In early March 1862, the First Regiment, Alabama Volunteer Infantry, C.S.A., commanded by Colonel I. G. W. Steedeman, joined other Confederate forces at Island No. 10. This island was a military post in the Mississippi River near the corner of Tennessee, Missouri, and Kentucky. It was garrisoned by five thousand Confederates and served as a formidable obstacle to Union advancements down the Mississippi. The Alabama First assumed its part of the island's defense.¹

Among the men in Col. Steedman's command was J. Melville Thornton of Talladega. He was a commissary sergeant and a member of Captain R. H. Isbell's Co D (also known as the Talladega Rifles). The son of a prominent Whig who served several terms as Probate Judge of Talladega County, Thornton was born in 1843. He was educated at the Talladega Baptist Male College and was just eighteen when the Civil War began. Although he had lost an eye at the age of fourteen, Thornton was eager for action and enlisted February 13, 1862. His physical handicap caused him to be placed in the commissary section.²

After a sustained attack by Union forces, the outnumbered Confederate commanders were forced to capitulate. On April 8 the defenders of Island No. 10 were made prisoners of war. The officers were transferred to Johnson's Island in Sandusky Bay, Lake Erie, while the non-commissioned officers and privates were sent to various prisons throughout the North. Thornton

¹ Edward Young McMorries, **History of the First Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry C. S. A.** (Montgomery, Alabama, 1904), p. 82. (Hereinafter cited as McMorries, **Alabama First Regiment**).

² **Memorial Record of Alabama**, II (Madison, Wisconsin, 1893), pp. 985-987; Confederate Military Record Card, Military Affairs Division, Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

was among those imprisoned at Camp Butler near Springfield, Illinois. This camp, as well as others, created special administrative problems. Among the myriad difficulties requiring attention were those of guards, regulations, and food.³

Camp Butler's security was lax at first and many Southerners attempted to escape, although only a few were successful. A comrade of Thornton's recalled that the number of escapees disturbed one Colonel Morrison who commanded the camp. The colonel addressed an assembly of Confederates by saying:

I want you rebels to explain to me how so many of you have escaped from this prison without a rascal of you ever getting hit by a bullet. You can't fool me; there is trading going on here. You can buy any man I have for 25 cent—any officer here for 50 cents—and me for a dollar.⁴

Thornton was a prime example of what the colonel had been talking about. Seizing his opportunity, the young Alabamian made his escape. After gaining his initial freedom, Thornton still had to cross through enemy territory before he was safe. It was not until some years after the war that he consented to describe how he accomplished this feat. The following is Thornton's story of how he affected his escape:

"On April 8th, 1862, the 1st Alabama regiment was made prisoners of war at Island No. 10, on the Mississippi river, and the greater part of the regiment was taken from there to Camp Butler, located four miles from Springfield, Ill., where we arrived Saturday, April 12th. This prison was not enclosed on our arrival, but in a short time thereafter a plank fence ten feet high was built all around, with two large gates, one on the north and the other on the south side of the prison. A few days previous to the time my narrative commences I had an inter-

³ William Best Hesseltine, *Civil War Prisons A Study in War Psychology* (Columbus, Ohio, 1930), p. 41.

⁴ McMorries, *Alabama First Regiment*, p. 43.

"On April 8th, 1862, the 1st Alabama regiment was made

view with Col. Fundy's orderly (Col. Fundy was an officer in the Twelfth Illinois Cavalry, one of the most humane and best men I ever met) and told him that I had \$15, (the last of the money my father gave me before leaving home) which I would give him if he would get me three of the blank paroles or passes kept by the Colonel to pass doctors and hospital stewards outside when necessary for them to go; he agreed, and on the morning of the 12th of July brought me the passes and I gave him all my money. I gave one of them to a man by the name of Frior, who lived in East Tennessee. He promised to carry me through the lines, (East Tennessee was at that time inside the Federal lines;) one to a Virginian, by the name of Farmer, a member of Captain Isbell's company, 1st Alabama, and the other I kept for myself. It was agreed that Frior should go out at the north gate, and Farmer and I should go out at the South gate and to meet in the graveyard. Farmer and I went to the appointed place and remained there until near night, but Frior did not come. I do not know whether he failed to come out or not. I have never heard from him.

About one hour by sun of the evening of July the 12th Farmer and I struck out for Dixie. Farmer was a man about 30 years of age, made up principally of bone and muscle. He had been a sailor, and had seen a good deal of the world, was brave and daring. I was about 19 years old, weighed before leaving prison 190 pounds, was made up principally of flesh and blood, and as green as I well could be. I had confidence in my man, and was willing to follow where he led. My flesh and tender muscles began to tell on me pretty soon. When we would stop to rest I would get as stiff as steelyards. I always went to sleep, whenever we stopped long enough to do so, and then Farmer would have a time rolling and rubbing me to get me limbered up. Our plan was to travel at night and lie up in the day; we walked all night the first and second nights, and the third morning we heard the sunrise gun at Camp Butler; we could not have been more than five or six miles away. The third night we tried it again and were soon lost, as rain began to fall about dark. We continued to walk until some time after midnight when we came to a barn. This barn was occupied by one of the parental ancestors of the mule tribe and a rooster

of the Shanghai variety. We did not disturb them, nor they us, until just before daylight, when the long-eared individual did some of the loudest braying I ever heard, and the old rooster called forth in his shrillest notes, warning the sleepers that day was near at hand.

At the close of these morning calls I heard Farmer crawling out of the trough in which we had been sleeping, remarking that here was a chance to get some meat. In a very short time he had secured the rooster, and said, "it is about time for us to get out of this." We then started out, finding ourselves in a prairie with no timber in sight. We walked for some time until we came to a small farm house at which we would see no man, but a woman and a lot of children. We were very thirsty and concluded we would take the risk and get some water. It was agreed that I should stay at the gate and hold the rooster under my coat until Farmer went in to get water and bring me some. While he was gone I leaned against the yard fence resting. I noticed the children looking at me and laughing heartily, but could not imagine what could be so funny about me until Farmer returned from the well. As soon as I saw his face I knew something was wrong. When he got close enough to speak without being heard by the children, he said: "Lower the chicken." I had been standing there with the old rooster's feet and legs sticking out above my coat collar, trying to look innocent. I let the chicken down so his feet could not be seen, drank my water and we moved out for high timber, which we reached in an hour or so. After getting in as safe a place as we could find Farmer made a fire (we had provided ourselves with matches before leaving prison) and I dressed the rooster. When fire and chicken were ready we were a little troubled to determine how we would cook him. I remembered how we boys used to cook partridges by hanging them up before the fire and keeping them turning slowly. Farmer said that would do; but where were we to get the string? Hunger and necessity stimulated our thinking faculties, and I proposed to furnish the necessary strings from my shirt, which was done. It took a long time to cook the old fellow for he was tough, and I felt like I would starve before he could be got ready, (we had not eaten anything but vegetables in two days). When he was ready he was divided equally and eaten entirely up.

We spent the remained of the day sleeping. When night came we started out to find the railroad; having found that we could not escape by trying to follow the dirt road; we got on the railroad in the early part of the night, and had no more trouble about getting lost. If we had done this at first we would have saved a great deal of time. We never left the railroad any more until we got to within about twenty-five miles of Cairo and traveled only at night, except when we got into prairies, then we would continue to walk until we could find some hiding place, which was sometimes hard to do. We got into some very close places sometimes when we were compelled to travel in the day.

We suffered a great deal for water, sometimes going as long as twelve to fifteen hours without. When we would be thus suffering and go to sleep, I would dream of the big spring at home, would drink all the time, but my thirst was never quenched. Any one who has never suffered in this way can have no idea how great the suffering is.

Soon after getting on the railroad we came to a long bridge, which we crossed on our hands and knees. We had just gotten across when a train came along; if it had been five minutes earlier we would have been killed. After the train passed we got back on the track and continued our march until daylight. We spent the day in hunting something to eat. When night came we resumed our march until just before day, when we were made aware that we were near a sttlement by the crowing of chickens. Farmer called a halt, and said that he felt his "corpo-real" needed something else besides berries, and that we must have a chicken. of course "Barkis was willin'," and we proceeded at once to the hen-roost where we captured four half grown chickens. How Farmer ever got those chickens off the roost and broke their necks without disturbing the family I never knew, and was in too much of a hurry to make any special enquiry at the time. We took two apiece and continued our journey. These chickens were dressed and cooked as the one before, we drawing on our shirts for strings. When done each of us made way with a chicken in quick time and saved the others for a future meal. This day was spent in sleeping, resuming our journey as usual when night came on. That night we raided a garden

and filled our pockets with some nice large onions, which we enjoyed very much while they lasted. This was the last of stealing of something to eat that we did.

A day or two after this we made an ineffectual attempt to capture a pig, but he outran us and we gave him up for fear his owner might come to his rescue.

The next thing of any importance that occurred was when we were passing through a little town on a Sunday night. We were near an old shed when the good people were coming from church, and we were about to meet them, and to keep from doing so, we ran into the old shed, frighten[ing] a lot of hogs that were quietly sleeping there; this caused some excitement among the good ladies, as the hogs ran in the direction of them, and as we were afraid that the cause of the disturbance might be looked into, we quietly took the place that the hogs had just vacated, where we remained until things got quiet. Farmer was a very nervous man, and it was but a short time before the fleas began to make him very restless. I could hear him occasionally giving vent to his feelings in a subdued voice. "Blank d--n fleas!" which came very near giving us away, for I could scarcely keep from laughing outright. The fleas worried him all night, he stopped two or three times, undressed and beat his clothes over something to get rid of his tormentors, but he did not succeed in getting entirely free of them until next day. The fleas either did not get on me, or they found me a hard subject to handle and left for more inviting fields.

A morning or two after the flea scrape we found ourselves with no hiding place. We could not afford to retrace our steps, nor safely remain where we were, so we concluded to go ahead. Everything was going on smoothly, until the first thing we knew we were discovered, and near a depot, where we saw there was some excitement. We concluded to face the music. When we got close enough to hear what was being said, we found to our great discomfort that there was a Yankee Colonel making a speech giving the rebels "down the country." He was recruiting for his regiment. We stopped and pretended to be very much interested in what was being said by the speaker. (I think Farmer joined in the cheering a few times). I suppose we remained fifteen or twenty minutes—but it seemed like hours—

when a train came along which the Colonel and several others boarded, and during the excitement we quietly slipped off and sought a place of less excitement and danger to us.

We struck the woods some two or three miles from the depot near a farm house [that], as we discovered by reconnoitering was occupied by two old people, a man and a woman. After making this discovery we went up to the front gate, told the old lady (who did the talking) that we were going down the road to engage in harvesting, (I don't think Farmer would have known wheat from rye and neither of us had ever had anything to do with either of the important cereals, except to eat the bread made of the first, and had used the latter a little in a liquid form). We told her that we had spent all of our money, and wanted her to give us a piece of bread; she kindly invited us in and gave us a pone of corn bread that I think would have weighed at least a pound, and a half-gallon of butter milk a piece, all of which we ate, and I know I have never enjoyed a meal more in my life.

The old lady was smart and did not believe a word we said about the harvesting business; but told us that we were Confederate soldiers and had got out of prison; said she had two boys in the United States army, and that she hoped if our mothers ever had the opportunity they would treat her boys as she had treated us. But she never got us to acknowledge that we were anything but good, honest, hard working citizens. We went from the house deep into the woods, went to sleep and, oh! such sweet sleep that I had that day. While my conscience was not exactly at ease on account of the falsehoods I had told the good old lady, my hunger was satisfied (in which condition I had not been since we ate the last chicken), I felt good and slept like a baby. We returned to the railroad at night as was our custom. The muscles in the lower part of my legs had become very swollen [sic], caused by walking on the crossties. This caused me a great deal of pain when we would commence walking after a rest. I felt many times that I would not be able to go any further, but the thought of the prison guard house, with its unpleasant surroundings, was a great incentive to renewed efforts, and after I had walked awhile the pain was not so great. Farmer never tired and was always cheerful, did all he could to alleviate my suffering. He was a fine singer and enlivened

our lonely march with songs. I remember the chorus of a song he liked to sing. (This chorus he improvised for the occasion) the words were: "Old Col. Fundy can't catch me because I am run away."

I believe it was the second night after we had the interview with the old lady and ate her bread and milk, we found that we had gone as near Cairo as it was safe for us to do. We left the railroad (turning to the right) about dark and some time in the night reached a ferry on the Mississippi river. We found a skiff and lost no time but pushed off in the river. We paddled down the stream until about daylight when we went ashore, (we had without knowing it stopped near a ferry). We were to take turns on guard over our skiff. I took the first watch, Farmer going back in the woods to sleep. Everything was quiet, and I, completely worn out with the night's walk and work, lay down on the bank of the river to rest, having no thought of going to sleep, but I did.

I was suddenly aroused by a noise, and knowing that we had been discovered, I stepped back to where Farmer was, woke him, and we determined to face the trouble and not give up the boat. When we got back to the river we saw two men and a boy, who had tied their flatboat to the bank and were coming towards us; the men were armed with poles with hooks on the end of them, such as were used about the boat. We each carried a good stick a piece which we had cut soon after leaving prison to walk with. We were so certain that we would have to fight that when they spoke to us and asked us where we were from that we acknowledged whom we were, and told them that if we lived we were going home. To our great surprise and pleasure the gentleman who did the talking said, "May God speed you." They then took their boat and left us.

We remained there all day and were not disturbed, but one of us kept awake all that day. We took to our boat about dark and passed Cairo just before day next morning and tied up for the day on the Kentucky side of the river. We failed to find anything to eat that day having stopped in the swamp. We were very hungry, and determined to try and get something to eat. Just before sundown we took our skiff and started down the river. We could see from where we were a house down the river

and on the Missouri side. When we came opposite to this house I proposed to Farmer that if he would hold the boat in readiness, in case it became necessary for us to get away in a hurry, that I would go to the house and beg something to eat, this he agreed to, and we pulled to the shore.

I got out and went up to the house, found two ladies in the house and several little negroes in the yard. (The little negroes were the most natural looking things I had seen since we were made prisoners). One of the ladies (the mother) was an invalid, and the other was a beautiful young lady about 17 or 18 years old. The ladies looked a little frightened when they saw me, and I didn't blame them, for I know that they had never seen a harder looking individual. We had been runaways about fifteen days, had no soap to remove smoke and dirt; my clothing was badly worn, especially so in the part where lazy men and boys wear out their clothes first. I made a clean breast and told them the whole truth; I suspect what made me so good this lady reminded me of my own dear mother, besides feeling that I was in the presence of pure womanhood.

I could not tell them a lie, and asked them to give me some bread for myself and friend. The lady asked me to come in, and said she would have her husband called. I declined the seat, and told her that I would go down to the river where my friend was, and await the coming of the gentleman; he came soon, and we reported to him the same that I had told the ladies. He said he did not propose to tell us anything about his politics, but that we must spend the night with him, which we did and were treated kindly by all the family. After supper we went out on the front veranda. Farmer entertained the old gentleman with war stories, and after it became dark enough, so that the young lady could not see my ugly self, I did some of my best talking to her.

Next morning after we had had a good breakfast, we got ready to go, the old gentleman gave us a good lot of provisions, Farmer a pair of shoes and me a plug of tobacco. He said he was sorry I was so large, that he would like to give me some clothes, but had nothing that I could get into. (He was not as sorry as I was; I was all right as long as I could stay in the woods but I did not like to face the ladies). He exchanged boats

with us, his was a splendid boat, with two oars and a rudder paddle. He had told us, that if we would hug the Missouri shore we could pass Columbus without any trouble, which we did, but we had not gone many miles before we discovered a gun boat coming up. This gave us a scare, and we went ashore, and remained the balance of the day. That night we made a good run, passing New Madrid, Island No. 10, and Tiptonville. We went into the swamp next morning, just below Tiptonville, and remained until about one hour by sun. We spent the day fighting mosquitoes and gallinippers.

We were going down the river and about sundown came to where a little pale man was sitting on the bank. Farmer entered into a conversation with him and so ingratiated himself into the good opinion of the little man, that he extended an invitation to us to spend the night with him, which we accepted. The little fellow was a Union man, and *so were we*. He had a nice wife, but was very poor. She gave us for supper and breakfast, good corn bread, fat meat and milk, and I enjoyed it very much. I remember that it was Sunday night when we went to stay with our little friend; he had fallen greatly in love with Farmer, and they talked late, and from what I heard of the conversation, I don't think Farmer told him the truth about anything. His wife was a good Christian woman; she sang good songs. I joined in when the song was familiar. I think I left the impression on her that I was a good boy, and I think I was better for some time after. Farmer learned from his friend where a Southern sympathizer lived down the river and he was advised by the little man to give this man a wide berth, which he said he would be sure to do, but we made as straight for that gentleman's house as we could go, and found that our host of the night before was correct. He gave us all the information we needed, and from that time on we had three meals a day, and a good bed to sleep in at night.

We left the Mississippi river at Osceola, Ark. We could not pass Fort Pillow, as we learned that there was a gun boat anchored in the river near the Fort. After leaving the river we spent the night with a gentleman by the name of Dr. Perkins, who was very kind, and had a noble wife. She gave me one of the Drs.' shirts and a pair of his underwear. He had no shoes that would fit me, but he gave me money to buy a pair, which

I did next day, after crossing over into town. We crossed at Littlejohn's ferry a few miles below Fort Pillow, the good Dr. sending us to the ferry on horses. After getting into town, we were among friends, and were helped along by horses, or wagons more or less every day.

On the 5th day of August, 1862 . . . , leg-weary and foot sore we marched into Holly Springs, Miss. There we were given transportation on the railroad and sent to Abbeville, Miss., where we found Capt. Isbell in command of a battalion made up of those who escaped when the regiment was surrendered at Island No. 10, and those who were on leave of absence at the time.⁵

Thus ended Thornton's escape, although his military career lasted another year. He was among a battalion of three companies commanded by Capt. R. H. Isbell that aided in the defense of Port Hudson, Louisiana, in 1863. Port Hudson commanded the mouth of the Red River and thus the Confederate supply lines from the West. It also was an outpost defense to Vicksburg. The Southern forces withstood an extended siege but the fall of Vicksburg made their position untenable and Port Hudson was surrendered on August 8, 1863. Confederate officers were taken prisoner but Union General T. B. Banks released the privates and non-commissioned officers on parole. Thornton and others slowly made their way home living off watermelons and roasting ears they found in wayside fields. For them the war was over.⁶

Thornton married in 1866 and soon established a reputation as an outstanding agricultural leader. He served as mayor of Talladega, Commissioner of Agriculture, and Commissioner of Immigration. He was also active as a Methodist and a mason. After a full life he died as the result of a stroke in 1910. Perhaps no year had been more eventful for him than 1862, the year he escaped from the Yankees."⁷

⁵ Talladega **Our Mountain Home**, August 4, 1886, contains this account of Thornton's escape. No changes have been made except in a few instances when punctuation marks have been inserted to make the text clearer.

⁶ McMorries, **Alabama First Regiment**, pp. 43, 68-70.

⁷ Talladega **Reporter**, February 19, 1910; Montgomery **Advertiser**, February 19, 1910; Talladega **Our Mountain Home**, February 23, 1910.



JAS. F. ARMSTRONG

From a miniature.

COL. JAMES F. ARMSTRONG OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY,
RENDERED UNUSUAL SERVICE
TO CONFEDERACY

By Floelle Youngblood Bonner

(This historical incident of the War Between the States won first prize in Alabama Federation of Women's Clubs 1961, for best unpublished item of Alabama History)

Soon after the War Between the States began, it became apparent that salt would be one of the main items necessary for the welfare of fighting men, as well as for the citizens remaining at home.

In a letter from George W. Randolph, Secretary of War, to President Jefferson Davis, he stated, "Millers, tanners and salt makers are essential to the prosecution of the War. Without them armies can neither be subsisted nor properly clad."

According to the Adjutant General of Alabama, the Confederacy required 300,000,000 pounds of salt.

On December 20, 1862, the Secretary of War, wrote Governor Shorter, asking the Governor to permit the Confederate Government to use one hundred acres, belonging to the state, for the manufacture of salt, which he stated was "deemed as first importance." This land was in Clark County. In this same month, the Alabama Legislature became concerned about the salt supply and appropriated \$100,000.00 to develop the state's salt waters.

Every effort, possible, was made to secure salt, even to exchanging cotton for it and "running the blockade."

At first, the salt makers were not molested by the "Blockaders,"² but by the Fall of 1862, production had become too important to escape the watchful eye of the United States Government.³ Salt workers in southern Alabama and northern Florida were flourishing. A Federal order was given to destroy works between Pensacola and St. Andrews Bay. These attacks continued until the Spring of 1865.

However, the blows struck at Confederate salt making did not deter the Southerners. As fast as the Federals would destroy, the Confederates would go further inland and rebuild.

During these years, not only salt was at a premium, but all supplies were needed: clothing, ammunition, food and medicines. The South was fighting on its courage alone. Yet it fought on.

These were the conditions confronting the South when my grand-father, Col. James Francis Armstrong, of Montgomery County offered his services and was assigned to the Confederate Salt Works on Santa Rosa Island, St. Andrews Bay, Fla.

Grand-father Armstrong was a plantation owner, married with a wife and six children of his own, and two step-sons, for whom he felt a great responsibility. The eldest step-son, Thomas J. Reynolds, a student at the University of Alabama, left that institution with other cadets, to serve in the Confederacy.

In addition to the family, there were the slaves who looked to him for their daily bread.

But in spite of these responsibilities, at home, he felt a greater responsibility for the soldiers on the battlefields and his beloved Southland.

Among his friends who joined him in this service, were Benjamin Harrison Fitzpatrick, Rev. William (Little Billy) Cawthorn, and a young man named Waugh, of the family, for whom Waugh, Ala, near Mt Meigs, was named.

His first step was to select the slaves to go with him. Among them was Ed, the young son of old "Uncle" Dow and "Aunt" Rachael Johnson, who were the family carriage driver and cook. He then hand-picked others to drive the teams and to labor in the salt works. Food for both men and stock had to be carried, which, of course, reduced the smoke-house supplies at home. He took, with him, two of his finest saddle horses, for his personal use.

It was during a raid on the salt works, by the Federals that Jas. F. Armstrong and his friends, were captured and confined in the Federal Military Prison at Ft. Pickens, Fla.

Upon learning of Grandfather's capture, his slaves loaded the wagons with his possessions, including a supply of salt and drove back to the plantation, and reported to "Miss Ellen" what had happened to "Marse Jim". These faithful servants stayed

on the plantation as long as they lived, and even today some of their descendants still live there.

However, within a month Grandfather escaped. The story of his capture, by the Yankees, and his escape, as told to his children, one of whom was my mother, is as follows:-

Grandfather stated he was riding "Old Pidge", a mare and the slower of the horses, at the time of his capture. He said that had he been riding "Selam" the Yankees could never have caught him. His captors, took his horses and made him march "until his feet were black and blue".

One night, the door of his prison quarters, was left unguarded. He lost no time in taking advantage of this opportunity. Strange to say, he found Selam his swiftest horse, saddled and tied to a nearby tree. He mounted and rode rapidly away. After he was across a stream of water, he heard shots fired in his direction.

Either Selam was a very fast race horse, or the Yankees were slow shooters, for he escaped and returned to his plantation, near Matthews Station, twenty miles from Montgomery.

Jas. F. Armstrong was high in Masonic circles, and he had taken some gold with him. Whether either of these facts had anything to do with his escape, is not known. He never divulged the secret.

The Official records of the Adjutant-General's Office, War Department, Washington, D.C. for the month of October 1864, show that the name of James Armstrong appears on the list of political prisoners confined at Ft. Pickens, Florida on Santa Rosa Island, who were awaiting trial by the Military Commission. It states that he was arrested September 29, 1864, "Charged with making salt for the Rebel Government".

On October 22, 1864, a special order was issued by the Headquarters District of West Florida and South Alabama, stating that the charges against the "Political prisoners, confined in Ft. Pickens, have been examined, and in consideration of their old age and long confinement," the Provost Marshall was directed to release them. (This SPECIAL order was apparently a smoke-screen to cover up his escape.)

James F. Armstrong was BARELY 37 YEARS OLD and had been confined ONLY 23 DAYS. Time must have dragged very slowly for the Yankee officers, to have considered 23 days a "long confinement."

Several years after the War, he was elected to represent his county in the Legislature, thus following in the foot-steps of his father James W. Armstrong, a soldier of the War of 1812, who settled in Alabama Territory. In 1819, Jas. W. Armstrong was chosen to represent Montgomery County in the Constitutional Convention, at Huntsville, and to help frame the first Constitution for the new State of Alabama.

It is a source of family pride that ancestors and descendants of Jas. F. Armstrong, have served in every war in which this country has participated.

References.

¹ "War of the Rebellion, Union and Confederate Armies."

² "Florida in the War" by Dorothy Dodd.

³ "Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy" by Lonn.

ALABAMA CONSCRIPT LAWS, 1863

No. 1.]

AN ACT¹

To Reorganize the Militia of the State of Alabama.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Alabama in General Assembly convened*, That each county in the State shall constitute a separate military district, and it shall be the duty of the Governor, as soon as practicable after the passage of this act, to appoint a special Aid-de-Camp in each district who shall be charged with the duties hereinafter set forth.

SEC. 2 . *Be it further enacted*, That within four days after being notified of his appointment, it shall be the duty of each special aid to commence the enumeration of all free white males resident of his county, who are or shall be of the age of sixteen years and not over sixty years of age, except those who shall actually be in the army or navy of the Confederate States. The enumeration shall be by beats, and shall show the age and occupation of each person enumerated, the number of the beat in which he may reside, and if any exemption is claimed, the ground of it. For the purpose of facilitating the enumeration. the special aid shall be authorized to employ three or more assistants, who shall receive for their services compensation at the rate of fifty cents for each person ennumerated by them. For a failure faithfully to discharge their duties without a sufficient excuse, to be judged of by the Governor, the assistant enumerating officer shall forfeit all compensation, and shall in addition be guilty of a misdemeanor, upon conviction of which, they shall be fined not less than one hundred dollars, and imprisoned in the county jail not less than one nor longer than nine months, at the discretion of the jury trying the same.

¹ Acts of Alabama 1863, pp. 3-13.

SEC. 3. *Be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the special aid within five days after the enumeration has been completed in his county, to divide the entire list of persons so enumerated into two classes. Class number one shall be composed of, 1st, of all persons under the age of seventeen years: 2d, all persons over the age of forty-five years: 3d, all officers belonging to the executive, legislative or judicial departments of the Confederate States of America and of the State of Alabama: and 4th, all persons who shall be certified by a board of surgeons, as hereinafter provided, to be unfit for service in the second class hereinafter mentioned, but fit for service in said first class. Class number two shall consist of all enumerated persons except those enumerated in class number one, and of such persons in class number one as may choose to enumerate themselves in class number two, which they are authorized to do. In all cases of doubt as to the age of parties who may be enumerated, the question shall be decided by the special aid of the county, upon the affidavit of the person whose age may be in question, and upon such other evidence as may be adduced. It shall be the duty of the special aid to file one copy of these lists in the office of the Probate Judge of his county, and to forward duplicate copies to the office of the Adjutant General of the militia. The special aid shall also be empowered when there are but a few persons enumerated in a particular beat, to incorporate and consolidate two or more adjacent beats into one, and to define the boundaries of beats when they are not sufficiently defined or understood, and *provided*, that the special aid for the county shall be empowered for the purposes of this act, to define said beat lines, and may combine the beats when in his judgment the beats so combined shall be too small to admit of organization: *Provided further*, the Governor may exempt any portion of the State from the operation of this act, as to the first class, whenever he thinks proper, and for any length of time he deems fit: *And provided further*, That the persons composing the first class named in this act residing in the first,

second and third congressional districts of the State, be and the same are hereby exempted from the operations of this act: *And provided further*, That nothing contained in the preceding proviso shall prevent the enumeration of the persons in the first class.

SEC. 4. *Be it further enacted*, That the special aid in each county shall, as soon as he has completed the enumeration and classification hereinbefore provided for, proceed to organize the two classes of persons so enumerated, in the manner following, to-wit: He shall issue writs of electio to the Sheriff, requiring all persons embraced in class number two to hold an election on a day specified by him, not more than ten days from the issue of such writs, for a Commandant of the county corps of the State militia, and also, at the same time and place, an election for the Commandants of the Beat squads of the State Militia. He shall, at the same time, issue writs of election requiring all persons embraced in class number one to hold an election on a day specified by him, (which shall be a different day from that on which the election is held by class number two, and not more than ten days from the issue of such writs), for a County Commandant of Reserves, and also, at the same time and place, an election for Beat Commandants of Reserves. The election shall be held in the same manner, and under the same regulations as govern the election of Representatives in the lower House of the State Legislature; *Provided*, That no one shall vote at said elections without the beat in which he may reside, and no person embraced in one class shall be allowed to vote at the election for Commandants of the other; *And provided further*, That in all cases of a tie, the casting vote shall be given by the Special Aid for the county. The returns of all elections hereinbefore ordered, shall be made to the Special Aid for the county, who shall ascertain and report without delay, to the Governor the names of the officer so elected, and it shall be the duty of the Governor to commission the officers so reported as follows: Where the number of persons enumerated in either class shall be six hundred or upwards, the commandant shall be commissioned as Colonel; where the number shall be four hun-

dred and less than six hundred, the commandant shall be commissioned as Lieutenant Colonel; where the number shall be two hundred and less than four hundred the commandant shall be commissioned as Major; where the number is eighty and less than two hundred, the commandant shall be commissioned as Captain; where the number is forty and less than eighty, the commandant shall be commissioned as First Lieutenant; where the number is less than forty, the commandant shall be commissioned as Second Lieutenant. Commandants elected by class number one shall be commissioned as officers of County Reserves, and commandants elected by class number two shall be commissioned as officers in the State Militia; and it shall be the duty of the Special Aid in each county, in returning to the Governor the names of the officers elected, to designate the class to which they belong, and also the number of enumerated persons of that class embraced in the command of each officer. The officers elected, when commissioned, shall be vested with all the authority appertaining to similar rank in the present militia system of the State. Commandants shall be authorized to appoint the non-commissioned officers usually appertaining to similar commands, that is to say, in commands of captains, there shall be four sergeants and four corporals; in commands of first lieutenants, two sergeants and two corporals; in commands of second lieutenants, one sergeant and one corporal.

SEC. 5. *Be it further enacted*, That whenever the Governor shall have been advised that the organizations hereinbefore provided for have been completed in any county, and the officers therein elected have been commissioned, it shall be his duty, within ten days thereafter, to declare the militia organization theretofore existing in said county under the Military Code of Alabama suspended, and the officers under said organizations relieved from their commands during the continuance of the present war with the United States, and the officers in said organizations shall be subject to all the military duties imposed by this act upon persons of the same age with themselves.

SEC. 6. *Be it further enacted*, That the duties of the special

aid in each county shall cease when he has returned to the Governor the names of the officers elected as hereinbefore provided for, and he shall be entitled to compensation at the rate of five dollars per day for the time he was thus employed. For a failure to discharge the duties herein imposed upon him with promptness and fidelity, without a good excuse to be judged of by the Governor, the special aid shall forfeit all compensation, and in addition shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, upon conviction of which he shall be punished by fine of not less than one hundred dollars, and imprisonment in the county jail of not less than one month nor more than nine months, at the discretion of the jury trying the same.

SEC. 7. *Be it further enacted*, That whenever a vacancy shall occur among the beat commandants either of State militia or county reserves, or when the commandant shall fail or refuse to serve, it shall be the duty of the county commandant of the class in which the vacancy occurs, within five days after ascertaining such vacancy, to issue writs of election filling such vacancy, giving the same notice thereof as in the first election. And when a vacancy shall occur in the office of county commandant of either class, or when the commandant shall fail or refuse to serve, it shall be the duty of the Probate Judge of the county to issue writs of election as the special aid was required to do in the first election, and in all cases the officers ordering the election shall give the casting vote in case of a tie.

SEC. 8. *Be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the commandant of each class in each beat to keep a roll of all persons embraced in their respective classes, and as persons may arrive at or pass beyond the ages embraced in their classes, to give notice thereof to the county commandant, and also to notify the county commandant when any person shall move into or out of their respective beats, so that the county commandant shall continue a complete enumeration of all persons of both classes in their respective counties. And it shall be the duty of the county commandants of the State militia, once in three months, to re-

port to the Adjutant General of militia all changes which may have occurred in the State militia of their respective counties since the last report.

SEC. 9. *Be it further enacted*, That whenever, in the opinion of the Governor it shall be necessary, either to repel invasion or suppress insurrection, or execute the laws, to call the State militia or any part thereof into active military service, he shall be authorized and empowered to do so, and whenever a requisition for either of these purposes shall be made upon him by the President of the Confederate States, the Governor shall apportion the number of militia required, among the different counties, in proportion to the enumerated militia therein, and make a requisition therefor upon the several county commandants of the State militia. And whenever the Governor shall make a requisition, he shall be and is hereby authorized to make all necessary regulations as to the mode of calling out the militia and organizing them into companies, battalions, regiments, brigades and divisions; *Provided, however*, That in all company, battalion and regimental organizations, the commissioned officers shall be elected by the men composing such organizations, and in all brigade and division organizations, the commanders shall be appointed by the Governor.

SEC. 10. *Be it further enacted*, That whenever the militia shall be called into actual service as hereinbefore provided for, they shall receive the pay and allowances, and shall be subject to the regulations for the government of the army of the Confederate States of America; and any militiaman now being, so ordered into service, who shall fail or refuse after due notice, to enter said service, or being therein, shall leave the same without permission, shall be liable to be tried and punished as a deserter, and subject to all the pains and penalties imposed upon deserters in the articles of war for the government of the army of the Confederate States.

Sec. 11. *Be it further enacted*, That the county reserves embraced in class number one, under the enumeration hereinbefore provided for, shall be subject to the order of the Governor to be employed as a military force for repelling invasion, suppressing insurrections and executing the laws, at any point within the county to which they belong; or in case of any sudden

incursion of the enemy, in which the county commandant of reserves has not time to communicate with the Governor, or to await his orders, it shall be the duty of such county commandant, and without delay, to call out the whole or such portion of his command as may be necessary; and while so actually in service, the reserves shall be governed by the regulations which govern the army of the Confederate States, but they shall not be retained in service any longer than the immediate necessities of the case may require.

SEC. 12. *Be it further enacted*, That the cadets of the University of the State shall be organized into a military corps, and made subject to the orders of the Governor for any military service within the State.

SEC. 13. *Be it further enacted*, That there shall be a board of not less than two nor more than three surgeons for each county, to be appointed by the county commandant of militia, a part of whose duty shall be to examine all persons who claim to be unable to bear arms, and who shall be sworn faithfully, impartially, and without favor, to discharge their duties. Each member of the board shall be entitled to compensation at the rate of five dollars per day during the sitting of the board; and for the purpose of classification, as provided by the third section of this act, the county aid shall appoint said board of surgeons, who shall continue in office until another is appointed by the county commandant.

SEC. 14. *Be it further enacted*, That no person shall be excused from service in the second class on the ground that he is unable to bear arms, unless he obtain a certificate of the board of surgeons to that effect, and the certificate shall show whether such person is capable of service in the first class or not, and if he be, he shall enumerate himself in the proper beat of the first class.

SEC. 15. *Be it further enacted*, That in case of a failure to hold an election, or in case an officer elected shall fail or refuse to serve, the special aid of the proper county shall make the appointment, and report the name and rank of the officer appointed to the Governor, who shall commission him as if duly elected.

SEC. 16. *Be it further enacted*, That any person made sub-

ject to service by this act, may volunteer in the military or naval service of the Confederate States, or in any company authorized by the act of the Congress of the Confederate States, approved August 21, 1861, entitled "an act to provide for local defense and special service," but shall again be subject to State service when his term of service as a volunteer shall expire.

SEC. 17. *Be it further enacted*, That the Governor is authorized to receive volunteer companies for such term and under such organization as he may deem expedient, which companies shall be subject to his orders.

SEC. 18. *Be it further enacted*, That the Governor may, in his discretion, organize such volunteer companies into battalions and regiments, in conformity with the provisions of an act of the General Assembly of this State, entitled "an act to raise an additional volunteer force for the defense of the State, and to resist invasion," approved 22d November, 1861.

SEC. 19. *Be it further enacted*, That the members of such volunteer companies, battalions and regiments, subject to militia duty, shall be subject to the enumeration provided for by this act, precisely as if no such companies, battalions or regiments had been formed; and in case a draft is ordered from the militia, such members shall be subject thereto in the same manner and to the same extent, as if the volunteer company, battalion or regiment to which they belong had not been organized, unless, if private or company officers, the company to which they belong, or if field or staff officers, the battalion or regiment to which they belong, shall volunteer for the term and service for which such draft is ordered.

SEC. 20. *Be it further enacted*, That any person subject to service in the second class, who is in the employ of the government of the Confederate States, or has a contract with said government, or is employed on any railroad, may be exempted from service under this act, upon the request of the Secretary of War, naming the employee or contractor to be exempted, communicated to the proper commandant, through the Governor or other military officer of the county, for such length of time as may be requested; and when that time expires he shall take his place in the class to which he properly belongs; *Provided*, That nothing

herein shall be so construed as to exempt common laborers or other persons in the employment of railroads from military duty, unless the President of such railroad shall make affidavit that such persons are indispensable to said road, and their places cannot be filled by other persons not liable to military duty.

SEC. 21. *Be it further enacted*, That in making the enumeration, the enumerating officer shall note which of the persons enumerated has an efficient gun, and which has not, and which of them will furnish his own horse, saddle and bridle, and serve as mounted men, and his report shall show these facts.

SEC. 22. *Be it further enacted*, That the Governor shall be authorized to furnish the commandants of counties with efficient guns for all persons reported as having none, and the commandant shall receipt for them, and shall distribute them accordingly; and any person receiving a gun under this section, who shall fail to return the same on demand of the county commandant, or any other person authorized by the Governor to demand it, or shall neglect to return such gun to the county or beat commandant, if he removes out of the State or county, shall, without a sufficient excuse, to be determined by the officer making the demand, be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be fined and imprisoned at the discretion of the jury trying the case; which last mentioned commandant shall be responsible for the guns, and hold them till properly distributed, according to the the directions of the county commandant.

SEC. 23. *Be it further enacted*, That the Governor shall be authorized, as soon as the organization of the two classes provided for by this act shall have been completed by the commissioning of officers, to furnish the commandant of the counties with sufficient ammunition for the use of said two classes; and the commandants shall distribute it among the commandants of beat squads, as necessity may require, in proper proportion, for the use of the beat squads.

SEC. 24. *Be it further enacted*, That in order to secure a speedy oragnization under this act, it shall be the duty of the Senator and Representatives of each county in this State during the present session of this General Assembly, to rec-

commend, in writing, the names of three persons in their respective counties, who are suitable to act as special aids in said counties, one of whom the Governor shall appoint as special aid for the county; and if the said Senator and Representatives shall fail or refuse to recommend, or if the persons recommended by them shall refuse to serve, the Governor may appoint such persons as he may choose, being a resident of the proper county.

SEC. 25. *Be it further enacted*, That so much of the military code of the State of Alabama as is inconsistent with the provision of this act, shall be and the same is hereby suspended so long as this act is in force, and this act shall become inoperative and void upon a ratification of a treaty of peace between the Confederate States and the United States.

SEC. 26. *Be it further enacted*, That the sum of five hundred thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby appropriated and placed at the disposal of the Governor, or so much thereof as may be necessary for carrying into effect the provisions of this act.

Approved August 29, 1863.

No. 2.]

AN ACT

Declaring who shall be exempt from Militia duty in this State.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Alabama in General Assembly convened*, That the following persons and no others, except persons over the age of forty-five years, shall be exempt from service in the militia of this State, to-wit; County treasurers, all physicians who have been in regular practice seven years immediately preceding the approval of this act, provided that any time such physician shall have been in the Confederate States or State military service shall be considered as embraced in the time of said practice, if such physician was a practicing physician when he entered such service; all ministers of the gospel who are now engaged in the regular discharge of their duties as such; all persons who are actually engaged in teaching school and have followed as a profession the calling of teacher for three years next preceding the passage of this act, provided that any time that any such person shall be in the Confederate

or State military service shall be considered as embraced in the time if such person was a teacher when he entered such service; also, one blacksmith in each beat, unless there is a negro smith working for the public in said beat, or some man not liable to conscription, provided that said blacksmith has been engaged as such for two years; the city police and members of chartered fire companies of the cities of Mobile, Montgomery and Selma, not exceeding the present number, provided the foreman of said companies shall make affidavit that the places of the persons so exempt cannot be supplied with negroes, and the names of the persons so exempt shall be published three times in the newspaper having the largest circulation in the place where said fire company is located; the officers of the Penitentiary of Alabama; the general administrators of counties who have actually been in office and service five years immediately preceding the approval of this act; necessary financial or produce agents of the Confederate States, so long as they are required by the Confederate government to continue the business of such agency; necessary millers, the Governor shall determine who are necessary millers, if appeal is taken to him; the necessary superintendents, conductors, master machinists and engine drivers of all railroads actually running; the necessary pilots, captains, mates, clerks and engineers of all steam boats plying the waters of this State, while actually serving on such boats; the cashier, discount clerk and deposit clerk of each bank in this State in actual operation; all overseers who are, or shall be exempted or detailed under acts of the Confederate Congress so long as they may be exempted or detailed as such; one owner and one machinist of all brass and iron foundries; and such other persons as the Governor shall specially exempt, and no exemption in any case can be made except for State or public purposes; *Provided, however*, that all persons thus exempted shall be enumerated and subject to service in the first class or county reserves.

SEC. 2. *Be it further enacted*, That any person who makes as much as ten bushels of salt per day on his individual account, or on account of a company or partnership in which he is concerned, who shall in good faith sell whenever he can do so for Confederate or State treasury notes, the salt he makes or causes

to be made, in quantities called for by purchasers at a price not exceeding fifteen dollars per bushel, shall be exempt for service in either class; and any person engaged or concerned in any way or to any extent in making salt, who or any of whose associates in making salt shall sell or exchange, or permit to be sold or exchanged, for anything whatever, salt, exceeding fifteen dollars per bushel, shall be subject to enumeration and service in the second class, whether he be under or over forty-five years of age, or a citizen of this State or not: *Provided*, but one person making salt for a company shall be exempt under this act.

Approved August 29, 1863.

No. 112]

AN ACT²

To amend an act entitled "An Act to re-organize the Militia of the State of Alabama," approved August 29th, 1863.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Alabama in General Assembly convened*, That whenever the State militia, or any part of the same, is called into the active service of the State, that the Governor may, at his discretion, organize the militia, so called into active service, into companies, battalions, regiments, brigades and divisions; the Generals of said brigades and divisions to be appointed by the Governor, and the commissioned officers of said companies, battalions and regiments, to be elected by said respective commands, upon such notice and under such rules and regulations as the Governor may prescribe; the organization in other respects to conform to that of the Provisional Army of the Confederate States.

SEC. 2. *Be it further enacted*, That any requisition which has been or may hereafter be made by the President upon the State militia, for Confederate service, shall be supplied by the Governor by draft or otherwise, as he may direct, from all or any part of such militia at his discretion, according to the exigencies to be met, the number of troops required and the term of service, and in the case of a draft the same shall be made and enforced under such rules and regulations as he may pre-

² Acts of Alabama 1863, pp. 95-96.

scribe; and he shall designate the time and places at which the drafted men shall rendezvous; to cause defaulters, failing to appear after reasonable notice, to be published and arrested and punished as deserters, according to the rules of the military law; to organize the drafted men into companies, battalions and regiments, brigades and divisions, as provided by the first section of this act, and to furnish subsistence and transportation to the places of rendezvous.

SEC. 3. *Be it further enacted*, That the organization as provided by this act shall continue no longer than the State militia shall continue in active service.

SEC. 4. *Be it further enacted*, That the relative rank of officers of the same grade, elected on the same day, shall be decided by lot, under the direction of the Governor, and that the rank of officers appointed shall be decided by the order of their appointment.

Approved December 4, 1863.

The Israelite without Guile.

A

MEMORIAL SERMON

OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND

Nicholas Hammer Cobbs, D. D.

PREACHED BEFORE THE

Convention of the Diocese of Alabama,

MAY 4, 1861,

BY THE

REV. GEO. F. CUSHMAN, D. D.

RECTOR OF ST. LUKE'S CHURCH, CATHAGO.

MOBILE:

FARROW & DENNETT, PRS., NO. 3 NORTH WATER-ST.

. 1861.

TITLE PAGE OF *THE ISRAELITE WITHOUT GUILF*

The Rev. Mr. Cushman's memorial sermon, which is reprinted on the following pages, is to be found among the Confederate imprints in the collections of the Alabama Department of Archives and History.

Bishop Cobbs, who had long opposed secession, died on January 11, 1861, the day that Alabama withdrew from the Union.

SERMON.

In the Gospel according to St. John, 1 chapter, 47th verse,

“Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile.”

In the midst of our Christmas Festival, when the significant evergreen decked our walls, and loud anthems of praise ascended from our hearts, mingled with them, were heard the wailing notes of a funeral dirge; with our festal wreaths, we were called to twine the mournful cypress, meet emblems both, of the warp and woof of human life. While words of hope and joy still dwelt upon our tongues, while the wreathed cross and mitre, the symbols of a Church that never dies, and of the successions of the Apostles, that is never broken, met our eyes, tidings of sorrow, as profound as ever touched the human heart, broke upon our ears. In the city of his residence, in the bosom of his family, his last prayers winged with the faith, and hope, and peace, that had pervaded his life, his last thoughts given to his Diocese and his God, with most touching words of blessing and of counsel, our good Bishop, our chief earthly Shepherd, our revered Father and Friend, the self-denying, the holy, the humble man of God was entering upon his last struggle, and achieving his last triumph, the triumph over the powers of death and hell. To him, to die was gain; to us, death was the mighty victor, and in the very zenith of our joy, the waves of sorrow overwhelmed us, and we exchanged the garments of praise for the spirit of heaviness. Not a family, not a church, not many churches, but a whole Diocese, clergy and laity, men, women and children, were, by one sudden stroke, orphaned and bereaved. Mourners all, most fittingly did the drapery of woe tell the world, of stricken hearts, bowed in grief and affliction, under the chastisement of our God.

Nor have we sorrowed alone. From all parts of the Church, and from all orders of men, from the Peaks of Otter, in the great Western valley, in the North, from the fertile plains of our own sister States, has ascended the same wail of woe, the lamentation for a Prince, and a great man fallen in Israel. Grateful tributes to his memory and his worth have flown in, as numerous as spontaneous, all bearing the same burden, all

testifying to the power of holiness in his life, and to the kind providence in his death, by which the righteous was taken from the evil to come.

Such a manifestation of sorrow, such tributes to the dead in Christ, are not only consonant to our feelings, they not only fall soothingly upon bruised and breaking hearts, but they are accordant with the teachings of the Church, in all lands and in every age. The Communion of Saints is one of the fundamental articles of her faith, not only of the Saints who are still pilgrims and sojourners on the earth, but of those who rest from their labors. They rest, but their works do follow them, and

“Angels, and living Saints, and dead,
But one communion make.”

In St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, we have the long catalogue of those, of whom the world was not worthy, still held up to us, to be under Christ, our exemplars and guides. In the most sacred office of our worship, when we kneel around the emblems of the broken body and shed blood of our dying Lord, or when we stand as it were upon the very verge of eternity, by an open grave, with thankful hearts we are called to commemorate the lives and deaths of those, who have fought the fight, and gained the crown. Being dead they yet speak, and before our eyes is fulfilled the prophecy of the Psalmist, that

“The sweet remembrance of the just,
Shall flourish, when he sleeps in dust.”

And when was a subject more worthy of a tribute, than the man of God, whose life and death we now commemorate, the Israelite without guile; when one to whom could better be applied the testimonies of inspiration to the perfection of the saints? Did Abraham talk with God on the plains of Mamre, did Enoch walk with Him; what was their life, but like his, a life of holiness and prayer? Did the dying Jacob gather himself up in bed, and leaning upon the top of his staff, bless his children? Suffer us, a moment, to unveil the sacred secrets of yonder chamber of death. There lay the aged father and Bishop, his frame wasted, his strength exhausted, by months of pain-

ful suffering and disease. Already had he entered into the dark valley and shadow of death! But he could not die, without once more beholding the children of his love; with them, and with the wife of his youth, he must break the sacramental bread. They are gathered from far, his daughters, his sons, his sons-in-law, and their wives with them. In a kind providence, no living child was missing. Together they knelt around that sacred bed, together they all partook of that last sacrament; all have one, whose tender years precluded—and when leaning upon his elbow, the aged father raised his attenuated hand, and invoking the blessing of Heaven, the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, fell sweetly upon his own soul. He realized the truth of that promise, that the righteous should not be forsaken, and that his seed should not in vain, beg their bread, the bread of Heaven; and with gushing tears of thankful joy, he could exclaim: behold Lord, here I am, and those that thou hast given me. It was a scene which might well remind us of dying patriarchs. Not afar off, did he resemble those elder saints. Like David, a man after God's own heart; like Daniel, a man of prayer; like Nathaniel, an Israelite without guile; like St. John, full of tenderness and love; like St. Stephen, a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, and of faith, he might well have feared the woe, denounced by our Lord when all men speak well of the, had not, as in the case of the prophet, occasion been taken to find fault with him concerning the Lord his God. He contended valiantly for Christ, and won the universal meed of praise; he contended no less for the Church, the body of Christ, and he, who never had in his heart, a thought of part enmity and strife, incurred partisan censure and reproach.

He was a man of God from his youth, and the whole course of his life did but develop and mature those natural germs of character, which were made perfect by grace. As in the sainted Griswold, it was difficult to say in him, where nature ended, and where grace began, so happily were they combined; and if he was thought ever to set an undue value upon the baptism and catechetical instruction of the Church, it was because he felt himself so much their debtor; because, like Timothy, by his mother and grandmother, he had been early trained, in wisdom's ways. The seeds were thus implanted which, in after

years, produced so abundant a harvest of good to himself and the Church; impressions were thus made, which no adverse influences ever impaired or destroyed. It was to these two facts, his baptism and his catechetical training, that he himself attributed, under God, his life, as a Christian Minister and Bishop.

The Rt. Rev. NICHOLAS HAMNER COBBS, D. D., was born, February 5th, 1795, in Bedford County, Virginia, then a frontier County of that State. The Church in Virginia, at that time, was exceedingly depressed, almost destroyed. If her services were kept alive in the larger cities, her missionaries either had no existence, or had never penetrated into the remote regions of Bedford. It was only by a long, laborious journey, that the young child could, by baptism, be gathered into the fold of Christ; and it was the last Church privilege he enjoyed until he reached the years of manhood. He never heard, he never saw an Episcopal minister; he did not so much as own a copy of the Prayer Book. No one has ever heard it, can forget the description of his joy, when amidst the rubbish of a country store, a copy was at last found, nor how willingly he parted with a silver dollar, then and to him a large sum, for the long coveted treasure, nor the diligence, with which its pages were studied, as the best commentary upon the Holy Scriptures, until with Adam Clark, he could say, "that next to the Bible, it was the book of his understanding and his heart."

His other early opportunities were no less limited. It was not a day of Academies and Colleges. In an "old field School," under the rigid discipline of a Scotch Presbyterian schoolmaster, for whose memory, he ever felt a profound respect, he laid the deep foundations of what was afterwards a ripe, not to say a critical scholarship. It was here, he acquired that broad Scotch pronunciation, which often characterised him, and that accuracy of ear, for a false quantity, whether in Latin, or in English, which his Clergy and Candidates for Orders have so much reason to remember. But limited as these opportunities were, and they were all the educational training he ever had, save such as was self-acquired, they were not continued long. At the early age of seventeen, we find him thrown upon his own resources, and he himself became a teacher, a calling which

he laboriously and faithfully pursued, during all the best years of his life.

It was during those years that he found, and reaped the benefit of the few private libraries, scattered among the families of that part of Virginia. The clergy, mostly from the mother-land, had brought with them many of the treasures of English theology, and the ponderous tomes had become precious heir looms, which like coats of arms, were handed down from father to son. The youthful teacher, the toils of the day ended, made the leisure, as he had the taste, to delve long and deep, amid those buried mines of learning; he slaked, if he could not altogether quench his thirst, in "those pure wells of English undefiled." *Multum non multa*, was his motto, and again and again, he re-perused those few great folios, until the mastery of their contents repaid his toil. Thus, among the Peaks of Otter, by the light of his midnight lamp, the voluminous works of those who were the great bulwarks of the Reformation, were the subject of his study and thought, until he became, himself a workman thoroughly furnished.

Bishop COBBS was never a man to make a display of his reading and learning. His ambition never ran in that direction; but to his friends, to those who were admitted to his familiar converse, and to whom he brought out treasures new and old, he appeared, as he truly was, not only a christian Bishop, but a Scholar and a learned Divine. His zeal and industry atoned for his want of early opportunities, and in the Classics, in English Theology, in Church History, and in Patristic Lore, he was no mean proficient. Never man rated higher the value of learning, no one labored more to raise its drooping standard in our land. If in these later days he was the earnest and unfailing advocate of our own great University of the South, it was because he saw in it the realization of his hopes and dreams; because there he believed the twin sisters, religion and learning, were to walk hand in hand, until they attained such fulness of stature, as the world had not yet seen.

It was amid such toil and recreation, a teacher by day, and a painful student by night, that Bishop COBBS passed his earliest years. Soon he found pressing upon him the great

question of his vocation in life. From early youth, influences alien to the Church, had surrounded him. The Church herself, in her depressed condition, cast down but not destroyed, could offer but little inducement to a worldly mind; for ambition, she had no glittering prize. To share her lot, to take part in her ministry, was to share her poverty and reproach. To lead such a forlorn hope, required no little heroism. The question, however, was soon settled. If there was ever any doubt in his mind, which we neither affirm nor deny, it was determined without long debate for the faith in which he had been baptised, for the Church in Virginia, which however fallen and decayed, was still the Church of Christ. In 1824, we find him at Staunton, applying to be admitted to the holy order of Deacons. He had yet to be confirmed and partake of his first communion; but once before, we believe, had he witnessed the service of the Church. Such, however, was his spotless character, such the testimonials he bore from neighbors and friends, such the necessities of the Church of Virginia—the very application was the best proof of the sincere and self-denying piety of the applicant—that all technical considerations were overruled. He was ordained Deacon, by the Rt. Rev. Bishop MOORE, in Trinity Church, Staunton, May 23, 1824, and the same day was confirmed, and for the first time communed.

The object of his laborous journey thus happily accomplished, he returned to his native Bedford, which was thenceforth to be the scene of his labors. No Parish, no Church edifice, awaited his coming, no comfortable stipend was provided for his support, no little band of communicants was there to cheer his hopes. The Church, whose minister he had become, retained hardly a traditional reverence and love. It was emphatically, minnionary ground, a virgin soil. O young wife, now his honored and revered relict, a growing family looked to him only, for support. One fact was thus made clear, he could not relax his daily toil. He must live, if he would work for Christ; he could only live, as did St. Paul, by the labor of his hands. He felt no less, that a woe was upon him, if he preached not the Gospel. A wide and perishing field was before him, and he must enter upon its arduous labors. He did enter upon it, with Christian faith and courage and zeal. He put his hand to

the plough, and he had as little wish, as thought, to look back. In the intervals of his daily toil, in private parlors, in empty mills, near at home, a hundred and fifty miles away, to gathered crowds, to two or three, he proclaimed Christ, and His Church,—he reared the standard of the Cross. In his public ministrations, in his private intercourse, in the social circle, at the bedside of the sick and dying, the everlasting gospel was his theme. Like the Apostles, he went out without scrip; like them, he ministered from house to house, looking to God only for his reward.

The people had known him from his youth up, and then, as always, he had a good report of them without. An interest was soon awakened in the Church, whose self-sacrificing minister he was. Friends gathered around it, and in the first year of his labors, he not only was made hopeful by the prospects of the future, but by the substantial results of the the present. In another year, hard, laborious, five days in school, two spent in the service of the Church, seeking at far outlying stations the lost sheep of Israel, and two brick Churches, in what had been the wilderness of Bedford, crowned the landscape. The two have since become four, and one of them, Hamner Parish, called by his name, will hand down to latest generations, the memory of Bedford's faithful missionary. Thus had he toiled, taking no thought for himself, having no care for objects beyond his own sphere of labor, and to his astonishment and surprise, though not to ours, the fame he would not seek, sought him. He was a burning and shining light, and could not be hid. Other fields prayed for such a husbandman, other flocks wished for such a shepherd. He had been scarce two years ordained, but one year a priest, when we hear that apostolic man, Bishop MOORE, whose testimony is equivalent to words of graven gold, saying:

*"Since the ordination of Mr. COBBS, several offers have been "made to him, by the acceptance of either of which, his situation "would certainly have been improved, but with a magnanimity of "minl, which rendered him superior to pecuniary considerations,

*Hawks Journals pp. 196-7.

"and with regard to the infant state of the Church, which reflects the greatest credit on his piety, he declined them all, and determined to remain in his present situation."

The circumstance was characteristic of the man. Bishop COBBS was never one to confer with flesh and blood, no selfish thought ever found harbor in his heart. Here were a few sheep in the wilderness, and he never seemed to question, but he must stay, to guard the flock, which he himself had gathered; here was ample field, and it never entered into his mind, at whose cost it was cultivated. So, for fifteen years, he stood manfully at his post; his life, health, strength, and talents, all consecrated upon an altar, that knew no interested thought, or act. Into the details of those years, we will not enter, nor is there need. He worked ever, by one pattern and rule. We have already given the testimony of Bishop MOORE. In 1830, Bishop MEADE speaks no less grateful words. Reporting a visitation to his Parish, he says:

†"I cannot leave this parish, without noticing how the rich blessing of heaven has been poured out, on the zealous exertions and affectionate preaching of Mr. COBBS. But a few years since, and there were not more than two or three communicants in the County, and not a place of public worship belonging to the Church; now there are more than seventy communicants, and three places of public worship, where service is regularly performed, besides many private houses, which are freely thrown open for religious exercises. But what is far more important is, that good evidence is afforded of the prevalence of real piety, and it is pleasing to perceive the animation and holy zeal, with which the services of the Church are conducted."

It was during these laborious years of parochial life, that those conservative and sound views of the Church, in the profession of which, Bishop COBBS afterwards lived and died, were developed and matured. He had imbibed them from the fountain head, from the great exponents of the English Church, and from the Word of God. The adverse influences, which surrounded him, had, it may be, for awhile kept them in abeyance, and it was not until the experience of parish life had taught him, that the truest practice can only be combined with the truest theory, that they assumed their normal place in his mind

†Hawks' Journals of Virginia Convention, p. 241.

and heart. To preach Christ was his first duty, as it was his chief pleasure; to preach the Church was a duty no less. They were parts of one whole, and the question did not, could not rise in his mind, which of the two he should forbear to press. His office was to proclaim the whole counsel of God. It was not only duty, even in Bedford, he believed it policy. In the field of labor in which God had placed him, amid the diversities of heresy and schism, with multiplying sects on every side, necessity constrained him to set forth plainly and distinctly the divine and apostolic claims of "the sect everywhere spoken against." In his report to the Virginia Convention of 1833, he says:

*"Some valuable additions have been made to the Communion; the members generally are becoming more decidedly attached to the distinctive principles and doctrines of the Church. "In obedience to a resolution of the last Convention, the Rector "has endeavored, by the circulation of Episcopal books and "tracts, to instruct the people in the true principles of the "Church; a duty, the importance and necessity of which, he has "been taught by painful experience. There also is another cause "for encouragement, in the proofs of an increasing confidence in "the soundness of our doctrines, and the piety of our members. "Plainly many are beginning to see, in these perilous times, "when dangerous heresies are boldly propagated, and when "contention and strife, with many other fruits of the flesh, are "encouraged by the divisions of new sects, continually multiplying, that our ancient Church presents to the humble and "honest inquirer after truth, a place of quiet and an ark of "safety."

The trumpet, we think, gives no uncertain sound. These views so announced, his views upon the sacraments, and especially upon Baptismal Regeneration, in the belief of which, he stood side by side with Bishop MOORE, his thorough reception of the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession, his later attempts at Petersburg, to revive the long disused Holy Days of the Church, his acknowledged teachings in the pulpit and in private, furnish all the proof we need, that as a Churchman, he

* Hawks' Journals of Virginia Convention, p. 293.

was an Israelite without guile. Bishop COBBS was never one to stir up controversy and strife. In his unaffected humility, in his gentleness, and love of peace, he never, unnecessarily, obtruded adverse opinions upon the attentions of others. He was not a man of positive assertions, he rather hinted, than expressed a difference, he dwelt in social converse upon points of harmony and union. To some, he might seem to waver and to yield, when no rock was firmer. It was so in all things. In all his intercourse with his clergy, in his Episcopal Addresses, in converse with a vain student, an aged servant, a brother Bishop, the same characteristic appears, the same christian modesty spake from his tongue. Dogmatism was no element of his character. When other men affirmed, he perhaps would speak by interrogation, but his question implied no less certainty than their solemn oaths. He was not arrogant, opinionative, positive, but he was firm and decided. Let principle be involved, and no appliances could move him. We repeat, the trumpet gave no uncertain sound. The views of the Church, and of her doctrines, learned by painful study in the Word of God and the Book of Prayer, and confirmed by the experience of a parish priest, which had gradually and surely matured in the earlier years of his ministry, were the rule of his life, as they were among his chief consolations in death.

During the later years of his residence at Bedford, Bishop COBBS was appointed by the Convention of the Diocese, Chaplain to the University of Virginia. The request that such appointments should be made, to the joy of many hearts, had come from the University itself. From its origin its relations, not to the Church, but to our common Christianity, had been most sensitive and delicate. A dark shadow of suspicion rested upon it, as if its object had been no less the promotion of scepticism and infidelity, than of learning. As a sequence of our connection with France, during the Revolutionary war, and of the subsequent overthrow in that country, of all respect for religion and law, the principles of jacobinism had obtained an extraordinary foothold in our land. To the ignorant, the unwary, and the young they came, in what seemed the guise of friendship and gratitude. It was to meet such a state of things, that Chaplains were first required. When now in her turn, application was made to the Church in Virginia, the general voice

pointed to the humble priest of Bedford, as the man who possessed the needed qualifications, for so responsible a post. The simplicity of his character, the purity of his life, the saintliness, which stood out in every thought and word and deed, the spiritual unction of his earnest and persuasive eloquence, which, though not endowed with the graces of oratory and art, went direct to the heart, his zeal and energy, his talents and scholarship, all commanded the respect and love of the young intellect gathered there. Brief as was his Chaplaincy, it resulted in great benefit to the University and to the Church, and in increased reputation and honor to himself, and at its close, despite the rule of denominational rotation, request was made, that his term of service might be renewed. After the lapse of so many years, he is still remembered with affection in those classic walls, and his name is handed reverently down, as the name of the Chaplain, who was an Israelite indeed, in whom was no guile.

But the time had come, when Bishop COBBS must bid farewell to his first, perhaps his best loved field of labor. He must turn his back upon those Peaks of Otter, in whose shadow, as he was born, so he had hoped to live and die. There he passed his early years—there he had labored, and seen the fruits of his labor—where once were none, a hundred communicants now kneeled. He had twined himself around the hearts of that people, with cords of love that no change of time or circumstance could sunder. With spontaneous affection they loved him in word and deed, and a farm of two thousands dollars' value was, in part, their thank-offering for the sacrifices he had made. His very presence brought to them comfort, and joy, and protection, and they felt safer, for seeing the man of God pass daily by. It was the divine will, they must give him up, but it could only be with streaming eyes and breaking hearts. Their love could know no diminution. Other men might occupy, it was still his parish; to them always, the Bishop of Alabama, was the Priest of Bedford. What a scene was that, when he visited the home of his nativity, a Bishop in the Church of God; when he laid his hands, first upon the eldest daughter of his heart and love, now we trust a saint in heaven, and then upon the aged father, who had waited thus long for the consolation of Israel. It was

a time of mingled sorrow and joy. The young men wept, the strong men bowed themselves, the mothers and daughters in Israel would have gladly given themselves to him, who had sacrificed so much for them. Our own eyes filled with tears, the pen falls from our hand, and we can only say, if he was much worthy, Bedford loved much.

But he had outgrown the narrow sphere; weightier responsibilities devolved upon him, and the call of duty must be obeyed. Owing to circumstances which we need not detail, the parish at Petersburg had come to a source of anxious thought to the then Assistant Bishop of Virginia, and he himself, for several months, had had temporary charge of it. It needed a man of peculiar qualifications, and he urged the parish upon Bishop COBBS, who had previously declined a call to the Church at Norfolk. He entered upon it with faith, he cultivated it with diligence and zeal, and the qualities, which had given him his first success, still followed him, and the new parish reaped the fruits. Difficulties were harmonized, the Church was built up in numbers and in faith. The four years he spent there, were like years of Pentecost. Soon his Church would not hold the worshippers, and a new parish was organized, and a new Church built by his congregation. As in his first, so in his second parish, he acquired the strongest hold upon the hearts of his people. They loved him with an enthusiasm, which still survives, for he served them in the day of the "general awakening." Says Bishop MEADE,

*"His ministry, during the few years of its continuance, was "very prosperous in all respects. During that period, a general "awakening of the souls of the people of Petersburg took place, "and ministers of all denominations labored faithfully, in "prayers, and sermons, and exhortations, private and public. "Instead of discouraging such extraordinary efforts, for so extraordinary an outpouring of the Spirit of God, as was "granted, Mr. COBBS came behind none, and went before some, "in the frequency of his religious exercises. The result was, "that no congregation was more highly blest in the results "thereof. I laid my hands on the heads of ninety-three at that

* Bishop Meade's *Old Families and Churches in Virginia*, vol. 1, p. 443.

"time, who for the last three months, had been receiving the "daily instructions of their minister, either public or private, "and of such other ministers, as he was able to brings to his "help."

His ministry at Petersburg continued but four years, and at their expiration, Bishop COBBS felt constrained, not only to resign his parish, but painful as was the severance, to bring his connection with the Diocese of Virginia to a close. In that Diocese, as in his parishes, he had for nineteen years been largely honored; to his dying day, he loved it with Virginia pride. There was hardly a post of duty, or of responsibility, which he had not been called to fill. In her councils, his wise caution, his prudent foresight, his temperate zeal were ever at her service; his voice was ever raised, in behalf of whatever could promote her prosperity and harmony. In her missions, in the promotion of the religious instruction of servants, in his labors for her educational institutions, he came no whit behind the first and chiefest. To man had a wider influence, or a more commanding position. He was respected by the clergy; it is not too much to say, that he was the idol of the laity. When it was proposed to elect an assistant to Bishop MEADE, it surprised no one, that the name of Bishop COBBS should rise, spontaneous to the lips of men; it surprised many, when before any ballot was had, the present Bishop of North Carolina arose in his seat, and by authority announced, that Bishop COBBS could not suffer his name to be put in nomination. Into the reasons that led to determination, we do not propose to enter. The time has not yet come, it may never come, when the history of that transaction can be truthfully written, without partiality and without prejudice. It was a subject upon which Bishop COBBS was studiously reticent and reserved, making rare allusions to it, even to his most confidential friends. He was a man of peace, he looked upon strife, and party warfare, as he did upon sin; as the blame of the Church and the destroyer of souls. We can not, now and here, so disregard the lesson of his life, as to enter upon the controversy which has arisen over his grave. Mindful of his gentleness, his meekness, and forbearance, we will only say, that his name was, at his own instance, withdrawn, and for the sake of "the things that make for peace," he was thence-

forth, a man self-banished from his native State. If after that withdrawal, a considerable minority of the laity still voted for him, if strong men wept, in the bitterness of their disappointment, it was only the more honorable testimony, to his worth and their love.

Bishop COBBS had served for fifteen years, in the General Convention of the Church, as one of the Clerical Deputies from the Diocese of Virginia. In 1841, members of the Church, emigrants to Texas, then an Independent Republic, had applied to the Church in the United States, to send them a Bishop. It was a post of very great responsibility and importance. The House of Bishops, zealous ever for the extension of the Church, were forward to comply with the request, and Bishop COBBS was by them nominated, as a suitable person to enter upon that great field. From motives of policy and expediency, the House Clerical and Lay Deputies declined to unite in the preliminary action of the House of Bishops, and to his great relief and joy, the name of Bishop COBBS was not sent down to them for confirmation. Pending that matter, he underwent much trouble and distress, lest the stern mandate of duty should call him, in the acceptance of that post, to the sacrifice, as it would then have been, of his native land. His nomination was in every way honorable, but such was his shrinking modesty and self abnegation, that to members of his own immediate family, singular as it may seem, the knowledge of it has only come from other sources since his death. He was never the trumpeter of his own fame.

It was in 1843 that Mr., now by creation of Hobart College, Geneva, N.Y., Dr. COBBS, took charge of St. Paul's Church, Cincinnati. He had hardly entered upon his duties there, when the Church in Indiana, hastened to ratify the endorsement of the House of Bishops, of his suitability to be a Bishop in the Church of Christ. He was elected to that office by the Clergy, and only a doubt of his acceptance of the position prevented the concurrence of the Laity. Thus happily, he was reserved for us, and in May, 1844, at Greensboro', the Church in Alabama, by unanimous vote of her Clergy and Laity, invited Dr. COBBS to her Episcopate. We were then, one of the least of the tribes of Judah. Like his first parish, Alabama was,

at that time, with emphasis, missionary ground; it presented almost an unbroken soil. A Diocese of fifty thousand square miles, destitute of even the few facilities of travel, which it now possesses, a Church in its very infancy, with but four hundred and fifty communicants, scattered over that vast surface, with a climate, however undeservedly, of bad repute, pledging but an insufficient support, which was to be eked out by additional labors as a parish minister, could hold out no tempting prospect to a man of large family, who was comfortably settled in the great Queen City of the West. Twice before, Alabama had filled its vacant headship, so far as election could go, and for reasons which no one dared gainsay, it had been declined. Across the waters of the Ohio was heard by Bishop COBBS, the Macedonian cry, "come over and help us," a cry to which he could not, would not shut his ears. God, duty, the Church said go, and to hear was to obey. He accepted the providential call, was consecrated in Philadelphia, October 20, 1844, and in the month of November, had already entered upon his work, his great venture of faith.

From that day until he was taken from us, his manner of life is known to us all, and we are witnesses, and God also, how holily, and justly, and unblameably, he behaved himself among us; exhorting, and comforting, and charging every one of us, as a father doth his children, that we should walk worth of God. We do not propose to go into any minute history of his Episcopate, nor to enter into any particular analysis of his character. We leave the first for his future biographer to do; we shrink from any attempt at the last, when we remember the eloquent tribute of the Bishop of Georgia, and the brief but comprehensive resolutions of the clergy. In our remaining space, we can only point out some of the most obvious facts and traits of his successful administration of the Diocese.

We notice first and foremost, the extraordinary hold, Bishop COBBS had upon the affections of his people; the wonderful union, and harmony, which characterised all orders and degrees of men under his jurisdiction. As he went through his diocese, every where preaching the gospel, as well by his presence as his words, he won his way to all hearts. He intuitively inspired, not only respect, but confidence and love,

as well out of, as in the Church. "That is a good man, a sincere christian man," was the one, universal voice. In his presence, before his lowly piety, wickedness itself stood abashed, and those who feared not God, nor regarded man, respected him. Without compromising a principle, he acquired the good will of all, and when he approached, contentions for modes of faith died away in silence. It was ever in his mind, that his mission was, if possible, to live peaceably with all men. Ministers of an alien faith, were his friends in life, they stood at his bedside, to learn how a Christian Bishop died, they paid to his lifeless remains the last offices of friendship and love. Look to his writings, listen to his words, and he spared not to proclaim what he believed to be the counsel of God; but he made no enemies, either to the truth, or to himself, because he spake the truth in love.

But it was in the Church, that our Bishop found the strongest, and to him the dearest proofs of love. In the sixteen years of his Episcopate, confidence in him never for a moment wavered, but grew stronger and stronger, until the day of his death. His diocese stood around him, as one man, and one heart. Never was a Bishop, who had stronger hold upon his Clergy and Laity;—it was a revered Father and loving children,—never was a diocese more happily united. His will was ours, his slightest wish to us, was absolute, at the very time we sighed, that he would not rule. This perhaps, was one of the secrets of his great influence; what he would not seek, was freely given to him. Most remarkable was the proof of our perfect trust in him, a proof without precedent in the whole history of our confederate Church, when two years ago, by a formal vote of our Convention, as unanimous as his election was, the entire control of our Diocesan Missions was confided to his hands. It was a confidence, which the Church of the Diocese nobly endorsed the same year, by doubling its contributions. It was then passed the formal vote, but that vote was only the recorded expression of what had been, from the beginning, our practice. It gave him no powers, which he had not, by general approbation and consent always exercised.

The confidence thus reposed in Bishop COBBS was well deserved, and especially upon the part of his clergy. He had

them, in life and in death, ever in his heart; he was at all times, their considerate helper and friend. In all their troubles and discouragements, in their hopes and joys, they found in him, the truest sympathy; for them he was ever ready to make any sacrifice. In his visitations, he labored to strengthen their hands, and increase their influence, rather than his own; again and again, privately and publicly, he lifted up his voice to protest against their inadequate support. It was one of the cardinal rules of his Episcopate, that he was to be the father and friend of his clergy; he never failed them. The simple words, "Bishop come," would start him, upon a journey of a hundred miles and more, to suit their convenience and comfort. He was not so much their overseer, as their fellow worker, and in the midst of his own great cares, he spared not, to help them cultivate their allotted portion of the Lord's vineyard. He came not merely to preach and confirm. Not infrequently have we known him, in a few days, to visit every family in a parish, rich and poor, to leave with all a word of counsel and a blessing. The kindest love thus marked all his intercourse with his clergy and diocese. For the sorrowing and the afflicted, he had the most tender sympathy; for the sinful and the erring, the most forbearing meekness and patience. He strove to save, not destroy the lost sheep; to bind up, and not bruise the breaking heart; to console, and not repel the penitent. Most truly did he so administer justice as not to forget mercy, and if ever he had occasion to act as judge, it was so that he himself seemed to endure the punishment, and he thus gained by love what severity had lost. With such a Bishop there could be no room for discordant views and divided counsels, and it was not the least of his merits that in his diocese the voice of party was never heard. He prayed for the peace of Jerusalem, and the blessings of peace followed him, in a Church, so trained by his precepts and example, that like Zion, it was a city at unity in itself.

Bishop COBBS in accepting the Episcopate of Alabama, did not underrate the difficulties he would have to encounter and overcome. He counted the cost before he began to build, and realized that it was a venture of faith. In large portions of the diocese, the Church was altogether unknown; in other parts, the strongest and most unfounded prejudices existed against

her. Her doctrines were not understood; her practice was misrepresented. She was, they said, a sold, formal, dead Church, leaving but a name to live. with the form of godliness, but not the power. That ignorance was to be enlightened, that prejudice must be lived down and overcome. Before the Church in Alabama could have any real growth, or acquire any real strength, it must prove its claims to the respect of men. It must shew by living example, as well as by precept, that it was possible for a Christian man to live within its pale. Upon that one point, all her future depended. How admirably Bishop COBBS worked out that theorem,—how in his own person, he demonstrated that truth, and so laid the foundation of future success. we all know. It was for him to prepare the soil, and sow the seed; to him we owe the harvest already reaped, and shall owe, in great part at least, that which is still to come. Like the Apostle, “in journeyings often,” in protracted absence from home, in wearisome waiting upon our water courses. in heat and cold. over roads, to which even courtesies could scarce give the name, by labors that might well have exhausted more rugged men, he penetrated into every part of his large diocese, and carried with him the gospel and the Church. Says Bishop ELLIOT, “he was one of the holiest men, I have ever met.” He so wrought, that all Alabama met him, and endorsed the truth, and under its influence the diocese grew and flourished.

Bishop COBBS was not what Latimer would call “an unpreaching prelate.” He magnified that part of his office. It was to him an ordinance of the gospel, and he was never so much at home as when in the pulpit. After a weary journey, it was rest to him, at night, to proclaim to a handful, or to a gathered multitude, the unsearchable riches of Christ. His preaching was plain, simple, and direct. He sought no aid of ornament, he indulged in no flights of fancy, he made no vain display of learning. He preached Christ, not himself; and not himself preached Christ, but the Church through him. No one knew this distinction better than he, who was often heard to say that the preacher in the Church of Christ. was no mere man of thirty, or three score, but a man hoary with eighteen hundred years. With a plain, Saxon style, which was all his own,—a style toned down by severe discipline, from that ornate exuberance

of metaphor and ornament. which characterised his earlier productions, when poetry and song guided his pen, and warmed his heart; with a peculiar delivery, he never failed to arrest attention, and to reach the heart. There have been few preachers more effective. If not an orator in the popular sense, he had one of the best elements of oratory. His sermons were realities; he believed what he said. Every word, and tone, and gesture bore the impress of sincerity. His sermons were brief, confined generally to a single point, and at their close—it is the truest test of merit—his hearers thought not of the speaker. but of themselves and their sins; they turned away, ever with the purpose of repentance and amendment in their hearts, and with its expression upon their lips. He captivated, not their intellects, but their hearts, and out of the stores of his large experience, the Christian was edified and instructed, and the sinful persuaded, and eager multitudes hung upon his words, for he spake to them with the eloquence of sincerity and truth, and with the power of God.

Bishop COBBS was not a man ambitious of authorship; he shrank from observation with a woman's timidity. Apart from his Episcopal Addresses, his appearances before the public were most rare; some seven occasional sermons make up the tale. In nearly every such case, his words sank deep into the Christian heart, and in the form of Tracts, have been widely circulated, some of them in many editions. They were plain. pointed, practical, the fruit of ripened wisdom, and long experience, and of that rare quality, common sense. which he possessed in an eminent degree. The same remark will apply to his Addresses to his Convention. There was not a word in them for display. no circumlocution, no sounding phrase. He seldom traveled beyond the record, he spake for Alabama, not for the world. A brief detail of his official acts; brief the better to conceal his immense amount of work; a few plain. practical suggestions touching the interests of the diocese, and the analysis is complete. There was no exordium, no peroration. very seldom such a digression, as when his heart broke out into that eloquent tribute to the memory of that "great hearted shepherd," Bishop DOANE. But upon what concerned his diocese, what would promote its interests, we had line upon line; here

he never wearied. His warnings to his clergy against pseudo-catholicity, against the errors of Rome and Geneva, against all innovations upon the ancient usages of the Church; his exhortations to combine in our preaching. "evangelic truth with apostolic order," to set forth, side by side, as cardinal truths, the doctrine of justification by faith, and the importance of the sacraments and offices of the Church—the body and soul of Christ's religion as he termed them—to proclaim everywhere, and at all times, Christ and His Church, these still ring in our ears.—may their influence never die in our hearts. Our Diocesan Missions, the subject of his last as of his first Address to us, our Diocesan School, the Religious Instruction of Servants, which had been the life-long subject of his interest, the Catechetical Training of Children, the Widow and Orphan's Society, the Endowment of the Episcopate, the due Support of the Clergy, these were the themes upon which he dwelt, themes to him ever new, because ever interesting, because upon them our growth as a church and diocese depended.

No notice of Bishop COBBS could do him justice, that omitted the fact, that he was a man given to hospitality. In him, it was a virtue in excess. There was ever a seat at his table for the stranger and the friend; in his house guests were never wanting. It was thronged from all parts of the diocese, we might say, from all parts of the land. He lived to make others happy, and was never himself so happy, as when his bounteous board was crowded with many friends. With his genial spirit and kindly heart, for in his religion there was nothing forbidding or morose, he entered into their feelings, and especially of the young, and made, as well as shared, their pleasure, and a day at the Bishop's was always a day of joy.

His charity was as unbounded as his hospitality. It was not in his heart to resist any appeal of distress, and with the poor he would have shared his last penny, and his last morsel of bread. There was but one measure to his generosity, the limit of his means and power. While the barrel of meal wasted not, and the cruise of oil did not fail, whole families of the poor lived upon his bounty; and if his resources were like to be exhausted, he would quietly turn away the word of caution from a friend, with "Jehovah Jireh." the Lord will provide.

The success of the administration of his diocese by Bishop COBBS was answerable to his great qualities. He found it weak, a Church with no popular prestige, an unsettled and rapidly changing Clergy. In the Convention that elected him, but eight clerical names appear on the roll, as entitled to a vote and seat. He left it united, vigorous, and growing rapidly in numbers and in strength. An endowed Episcopate, a Widow and Orphan's Society, whose vested funds will compare favorably with those of like societies, in the older and wealthier dioceses, a flourishing Diocesan School, the parishes more than doubled, the clergy and communicants quadrupled, the alms and oblations many-fold increased, a vigorous system of missions, these are facts that make his monument and speak his praise. He was not only a good, but a successful Bishop, even as the world counts success, by actual results. He was however a pioneer; his time and labor were spent in laying broad and deep foundations, and not upon the visible walls of the temple. How he labored, what success he achieved, is hidden still in the womb of time, but as long as the Church in Alabama shall have any existence, she will reap the fruit of the toils and prayers of her first loved Bishop and her children's children shall rise up to call him blessed.

Sorrowfully fell upon the great heart of his diocese, and upon the Church at large, the mournful tidings of the last sickness, and death of Bishop COBBS; "such a providence," say neighboring Bishops. "is not the least ominous of the signs of the times." In the midst of great political convulsions, in the very hour of his country's downfall, amid the expiring throes of the Union, which he loved with patriotic heart no less true to his native South, when Alabama was proclaiming her own independence and sovereignty, January 11, 1861, the aged saint put his armor off, and drew his last breath. Not unexpected to him, was the stroke so sudden to us. He lived "as ever in his great Taskmaster's eye." and as in life, so in death, was he ready to glorify his Lord and Christ. What a scene did that dying chamber present, what a triumph of Christian faith, what meekness and patience in suffering, what lowly trust in the goodness and mercy of God. It was the end of suffering, of toil and care; it was the beginning of rest and life, the life that dies no more. When the bright sun was in its mid career,

at the hour of high noon, in the bosom of his family, surrounded by his weeping clergy, when all was silence, save the sobs that could not be surpressed, and the words of solemn prayer, life's great battle ended, and he closed his eyes upon time, to open them in eternity. His soul winged her flight to the realms above. and the faithful servant of God, the Israelite without guile entered upon his everlasting reward. Without a murmur or a sigh, with the expression upon his lips. of what had been ever the faith in his heart,

"In my hand no price I bring,
Simply to thy cross I cling."

he sank gently to his rest, "as if it had been a breathing sleep." We bore him reverently to his tomb, the heavens weeping sadly the while—the sobs and tears of gathered multitudes, attesting the depths of their sorrow, and the greatness of his worth. Humility was the characteristic of his life, it was only in death, that we could bear our willing witness, with the purple pall, and the insignia of woe, that a great man, and a Prince, had fallen in Israel; it is only at his grave, henceforth to be to us a pilgrim shrine, that we can pay the meet tribute to the memory of one, whose name the Church "will never willingly let die."

Brethren, and friends, at your request and by your suffrage, we have thus feebly attempted to commemorate the life and services of our reverend Bishop, and Father in God. How imperfectly, how inadequate to our great theme, you can bear witness; amid what burden of parochial and scholastic cares prepared, only ourselves can know. But whatever defects there be, our last words, or rather not ours, but his, shall redeem. From the battlements of heaven, the spirit of our Bishop still looks down upon the diocese he so much loved; from the depths of his grave, there comes a voice to us, the children of his love, which we can but heed. In his waning hours, he uttered words, to be forever graven in our hearts, forever seen in our lives. It is not we, but your dying Bishop, now a saint with God, who exhorts you to

"Be men of God:—men of peace, men of brotherly kindness, "men of charity; self-denying men, men of purity, men of

“prayer; men striving to perfect holiness in the fear of God,
“and laboring and preaching with an eye single to His glory
“and the salvation of souls.”

Shuch were the last counsels to his Clergy, of the dying
Israelite, the Israelite without guile.

A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT OF
THE INAUGURATION OF JEFFERSON DAVIS¹

Edited by VIRGINIA K. JONES

Montgomery Tuesday -Feb.- 19th -1861-

My dear Mary,²

Your note and the red garters came this morning in time for Willie³ to put them on when he dressed and he feels very dressed in them.

Yesterday was the greatest day in the annals of Montgomery. The President with his escort of about 20 gentlemen arrived on Saturday night. Yesterday was bright and pleasant and a very large crowd of people assembled at the Capitol and on the streets to see the procession and attend the inaugural exercises. The newspapers will give you full accounts of it. A Government is formed for the South and no idea of reconstruction is entertained.

I was one of the mass of people in front of the Portico. The balconies and every front window were filled with ladies who went *early*. Emmie had a bad cold and did not go. Annie & Bessie went with me. The crowd about used them up. I fared better.

My share of the interesting occasion was to furnish a most beautiful wreath of Japonicas and hyacinths and small spring magnolias — also a large bunch of flowers for the Vice President. *The wreath for the President*: I did not begin to collect the flowers until 9 o'clock in the morning and went to

¹ This account was written by Mrs. Jefferson Franklin Jackson, formerly Ellen Clark Noyes of Boston, Massachusetts, to a relative. The original letter was deposited in the Department of Archives and History, along with a few other items of her grandparants, by Mrs. Lillian Jackson Coleman in 1940. These gifts were added to the collection of papers of Jefferson Franklin Jackson already on deposit.

² Mary H. Noyes, age 57. and Emma Noyes, age 17, both natives of Massachusetts, were listed as members of the Jackson household, in Montgomery, Alabama, on the Census of 1860.

³ William Noyes Jackson, third son of the J. F. Jacksons, was about four years old when the letter was written.

Mr. Garrett's place⁴ with a basket and brought it away full of those crimson and red and variegated Japonicas. The green of the wreath was arbor vitae and box. The front of the wreath was elevated, and was composed of large crimson Japonica, a small one and white hyacinths in the point against a back of arbor vitae. Below the Jap. were purple and white *double hyacinths*. On either side of the centre were half opened pink Jap. and the whole wreath was of dark and light flowers alternating. You have no idea how beautiful it was, at a distance and near too.

As the procession came through the Capitol grounds I handed the flowers to Mr. Watts⁵ who was one of the committee and told him the wreath was for the Pres., the bouquet for the Vice Pres. They were laid on the table and after the inauguration Howell Cobb handed him the wreath which he slipped on his arm — and gave Mr. Stephens his flowers. The ladies from above threw down small bunches of flowers which the Pres. gathered and held in his hand.

A levee was held last night in Estelle's Concert Hall. The ladies trimmed Estelle Hall beautifully. Oh the crowd! and such a one. The greatest variety of costume you can imagine. People from town, people from country, young and old. Mr. Watts gave all the introductions. Mrs Fitzpatrick, just from Washington,⁶ with black velvet dress, point-lace bertha, and sleeves trimmed with same, and pearl ornaments. A lady next-to- her. perhaps with her, head covered and shawl on. Men in fine clothes and men in home spun. Mr. Watts wore his home spun suit. Most of *our* ladies dressed prettily. Mrs. Thornton came with bonnet and cloak. Emmie could not go. *Bessie wouldn't*. Annie not well. Frank and I went alone. I wore my brown silk with blue flounces which has been entirely made

⁴ John B. Garrett (of Garrett & Pollard Hardware Dealers) lived on Catoma Street, between Tallapoosa and Bibb Streets.

⁵ Thomas Hill Watts (Governor of Alabama 1863-1865) was a law partner of J. F. Jackson, in the firm of Watts, Judge and Jackson.

⁶ On Jan. 21, 1861, Benjamin Fitzpatrick and Clement C. Clay, Jr., Senators from Alabama, with the Senators from Florida and Jefferson Davis, then Senator from Mississippi, announced in the Senate their intention to withdraw from that body, and they did withdraw.

over into a low necked dress with skirt in puffs and ruffles. On my neck I wore my pretty collaret and black lace shawl thrown round my shoulders. My head dress was of blue velvet with black and gold ornaments. My jewelry is blue you know.

When we went up to be presented Mr. Watts said "this is the lady who presented you with the wreath." He [Davis] said it was beautiful and he only wished he had a box which would take it safely to his wife and children. Speaking of the crowd I told him when we built the White House we would give him more room. When Frank was introduced he asked Mr. Davis if he remembered him — he looked at him a moment and said "Sampson Harris! Go on, I can't talk to you now, come and see me and bring your wife." They were together in the sick room of Mr. Harris at Washington.⁷

Every house little and big was illuminated from the Capitol to the Exchange last night. The Theatre was illuminated also. Rockets and bengal lights were thrown from opposite sides of the streets constantly by the Estelle Hall comm. In short yesterday was a *great day* for Montgomery.

I have not yet told you that *Wallace*⁸ is at home and sick. He came on Sunday night. He thinks he had a chill while keeping guard and has not been well since. He suffers much pain in the back of his neck at times. His company will be here the last of the week. He lays on the sofa all day. A few days of rest will recruit him I hope.

I suppose our new Government will send on a commissioner with full powers to settle the question about the Forts. Nobody expected the *State Commissions* would accomplish anything though the state went through the form but when the seven

⁷ Sampson Willis Harris was a Representative from Alabama in Washington, 1847-1857. He died in Washington on April 1, 1857. Jefferson Davis was Secretary of War, 1853-1857. In April 1856 J. F. Jackson was admitted as counselor to the U. S. Court of Claims, at Washington.

⁸ William Wallace Screws read law under Thomas H. Watts and was admitted to the bar in June, 1859. He was about 22 years of age, had a room in the Jackson's house, and was one of the first young men to volunteer for military service and left with the "True Blues" for Fort Barancas.

seceding states demand through their minister the withdrawal of the troops at the Forts it puts a different face on the matter. Haven't you found out yet that South Carolina can't act any longer independently? Did you know that this Southern Congress has all the war measures in hand now, and Ft. Pickens or Ft. Sumter won't be attacked until they say so?

I am sorry for your reading if you do not get any nearer the truth than in those statements about Mr. Yancy saying the northern counties must be compelled etc. When you see or hear statements that call for your disapproval it would be just as well to stop and consider perhaps — *possibly* it may not be so. as to the Southern Forts why do you object to their being occupied by the people for whose defence they were built? They do not defend Massachusetts or New York and the South *must have them*, because she believes that by delay they will be occupied by large bodies of men who will be placed there to attempt the coercion of the seceding States. Now if you are not willing the Forts should be taken by the South for the purpose of defence — then you are willing to have them reinforced, which from what you read in the papers is the policy of the Republicans about to be in power. If the South *must have them* why not possess them while they can be taken without bloodshed as has been the case — without exception — which if not evacuated must be taken at any cost.

It seems hardly possible that Lincoln will undertake coercion. If he does not he will have to acknowledge the Independence of the South and evacuate the Forts. We will not trouble him to take care of our defences or collect our revenue. You may be sure that nothing will be done until our Congress has sent someone to Washington to treat for the purchase of the Forts and all the other Government property, and arrange a basis of settlement. Buchanan won't want to treat but will try and put it off on Lincoln and no one can say what will be done between now and March 4th.

Emmie & Wallace asked Rosa why she did not go to the Capitol to see the Inauguration, that she would be disappointed if she did not see it. She replied with great dignity that she could not be disappointed in what she knew all about. She had seen *three or four Presidents inaugurated*.

What cold weather you are having? Do keep warm inside and out. Drink something stimulating. I am afraid Mother will suffer from these cold snaps. Keep her very warm. Tell Charles he is very kind to look after your fires these cold mornings. I would go to bed and stay there until it gets warm again. Love to Mother, Charles & Sarah. I will send you papers about our affairs.

Your aff.

Ellen

GOVERNOR JOHN GILL SHORTER
EXECUTIVE PAPERS¹

Edited by MILO B. HOWARD, JR.

SEDITION IN WINSTON COUNTY

P. C. WINN TO GOVERNOR SHORTER

Marion Ala.

Dec. 7th 1861

Hon. John Gill Shorter;

Gov. of Ala.

Montgomery

Dear Sir,

I inclose you a letter from Dr. A. Kaeiser, of Winston County. I hope the action of the meeting alluded to in Dr. K's letter has reached you. I was present at the meeting & drafted the Preamble & Resolutions alluded to. The state of affairs in that county is really alarming, not, perhaps, so much to the Government as to the few loyal citizens among them. I visited Winston in a tour to raise companies for a regiment. There are organized companies in the county which drill regularly with the avowed purpose of defending the Union. I send you a copy of one of their circulars, marked "A." Many men in that county told me frankly, if they had to fight for any body, they would fight for Lincoln. And without repeating, I may say that the facts stated in the preamble of the resolutions sent you by Dr. K. & the other gentlemen acting with him, are not only literally true, but they do not express the *whole* truth — "the half has not been told you." Dr. Kaeiser is a very intelligent gentleman, as you may see from his letter, nor is he by any means a timid man or one to conger up imaginary fears. You will see from

¹ This group of papers, unless otherwise noted, is from the Executive Papers of Governor John Gill Shorter, filed in the Alabama Department of Archives and History. All sources used in this compilation are also in the Alabama Archives.

Dr. K.'s letter that the citizens of Winston (the loyal citizens) have no confidence in *Sheets*,² their representative, and whatever may be his late protestations of loyalty, they advise that he cannot be *trusted*. When his people change he may change, but so long as they are in a majority, there is no hope of a change in him.

I would urge that something be done to strangle the rebellion & treason in that quarter; for, from all I could learn, when in that county, there is very little doubt but that they have regular communication with our enemies through East Tennessee. For instance, they spoke of the late bridge-burning in E. Tenn almost simultaneously with that foul and traitorous act. But I need not enlarge — nor need I make suggestions. I only add *something must be done*, & if I can serve my state in that quarter, command me, & I am ready to aid in suppressing the rebellion even by the sword, if necessary.

I shall be going again in that quarter soon on interests connected with my Reg't, & hope to hear from you soon, & especially would I like to be advised as to what course you intend pursuing with those people. I am raising a Reg't for *the war*, & should like to have the privilege of drafting about 400 of the Lincoln men of Winston. ,

Yours truly
P. C. Winn

Inclosure in Winn to Shorter, Dec. 7, 1861

A Notice

All persons desiring to attach themselves to a union company to form a home guard for the protection of our families and property is earnestly requested to meet us at A. I. Taylors Store on the 14th Inst and at Wm Dodds Store on the 15th. Come one come all good patriotic Union men.

June 8th 1861
W. B. Manasco
Silas Morphew

² C. C. Sheets represented Winston County in the Secession Convention and in the legislature from the second special session of 1861 until his expulsion by the House of Representatives in 1863 because of his alleged disloyalty to the Confederacy for which he was arraigned, indicted and imprisoned.

C. A. Taylor
A. I. Taylor
A. I. Ingle

Inclosure in Winn to Shorter, Dec. 7, 1861

Blue Spring Winston County Ala

Dec. 3rd 1861

Dr. P. C. Winn

Marion

Perry County

Ala.

Dear Sir

Please find enclosed the proceedings of a meeting held by a portion of the citizens of Winston County Ala. on the 30th day of Nov. 1861.

We make these statements in confidence not wishing our names made publick unless it should become actually nessary for the good of the Confdracy; not that we fear any personal violence, but knowing those persons as well as we do we fear private injury; but if it should become necessary for the good of the State or Confederacy we are willing to shoulder the responsibility and risk the concequences.

His Excilency the Govnor con enquire of Rev. J. A. Hill our Senator as to the character and standing of the persons whose names are embodied in the resolutions.

As to Sheets our representative he being the man elected by their votes and an avowed *Unionist* at home, would not be a reliable man to enquire of, and I have no doubt if aware of these procedings, would use [them] to our injury if in his power.

Since writing the above, we have [intell]igence of a threatened invasion of N. Al[abama and] of the Tennessee river, from Kent. [corner torn off] conciquently we thought it best

to send the proceeding direct to the Gov. and request your cooperation and assistance to have the resolutions carried out; in fact we are of opinion it would be better to call out the whole militia of the mountain counties for the safety of the loyal citizens, as our families would be in less danger if the unionists were removed than in any other portion of the state, and it will not do for the loyal citizens let their arms go to the army enles a good portion of the unionists were removed; for I asure you unless something is done we shall have to protect ourselves against them.

They are already saying the Southern men are in danger, as Lincoln has promised them protection (the unionists)

Yours with much esteem

A. Kaeiser

P. S. If you cannot go to Montgomery please write to the Gov. Immediately

A. K.

DR. A. KAEISER TO GOVERNOR SHORTER

Blue Spring Winston County, Ala
December 3rd 1861

His Excellency

John Gill Shorter

Gov. of Alabama

Montgomery

Sir

Please find enclosed the proceedings of a meeting held by a portion of the citizens of Winston County Ala. on the 30th day of November ult.

We make these statements in confidence not wishing our names made publick, unless it should become actually necessaty for the good of the Confdracy; not that we fear personal violence, but knowing these persons as will as we do, we fear private injury; but if it should become necessary for the good of the state or Confederacy we are willing to shoulder the responsibility and resk the consiquences.

Your Excellency can enquire of J. A. Hill our Senator and Judge Picket one of the Rep. from Lawrence, as to the character and standing of most of the persons whose names are embodied in the resolutions.

As to Sheets our Rep. he being elected by their votes and an avowed *Unionist* at home would not be a reliable man to enquire of, and I have no doubt of these proceedings, would use them to our injury if in his power.

We had made arrangement with Dr. P. C. Winn of Perry County to transmit these resolutions to him and he had promised to lay them before your Excellency and urge early attention to them; but recent developments in Tenn. Kent. and the imminent danger of North Ala. renders speedy action necessary, therefore we transmit them to you.

with respect

Your obdt servt

A. Kaeiser

INCLOSURE IN KAEISER TO SHORTER

At a meeting of a portion of the citizens of Winston County held this Saturday the 30th day of November 1861, Dr. A. Kaeiser was called to the chair and J. M. Bibb Esqr was appointed Sec'y. The chairman explained the object of the meeting to be the necessity of taking into consideration some measures for suppressing and holding in check a widespread spirit of disloyalty and rebellion, which is found to exist to an alarming extent in the county of Winston, and which if not checked by the intervention of the proper authorities must soon ripen into open hostility to the government of the Confederate States, & greatly endanger the safety of the loyal citizens of the county.

On motion of John York Esqr the meeting resolved itself into a committee to set forth the facts, & to memorialise His Excellency, the Governor of Alabama to interpose for the effectual suppression of the existing spirit of rebellion by all & whatever constitutional & legal authority he may be invested with for such

purpose; and to this end the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, according to the vote in the late election for representatives, it appears, that there are in this county only 128 Secessionists & loyal voters, & that there are about 515 avowed Unionists, who declare themselves openly in favour of the Union; and whereas these said Unionists have formed themselves into volunteer Military Companies, for the purpose of defending the Union, and have banded themselves together in armed companies for the purpose of drilling & practising the use of fire-arms in obedience to public notice a copy of which is hereto annexed marked "A";³ and whereas, the said Unionists having a large majority in the county, have invariably, whenever any vacancy occurred in any civil or military office, put forward their own men, which men, when elected have refused to take the oath of office, thus defeating the ends of justice & preventing the organization of the Militia according to the requirements of the laws of the Confederacy & the Constitution of Alabama; and whereas every effort has been made by the good citizens both by personal and public appeals to win the said Unionists to loyalty to the State of Alabama & the Confederacy; and whereas, by the special request of His Excellency Gov. A. B. Moore, the Hon. George S. Houston lately visited the county Winston and made the most fervent and eloquent appeals to the said dissaffected citizens with the hope of exciting in them a spirit of fealty to the government; and whereas all these efforts have not only failed to produce any good effect, but on the contrary it appears, that the spirit of rebellion grows more open and violent every day; and whereas, out of the 128 loyal citizens of the county, 70 are in the service of the army, but not one single man of the 515 Unionists has volunteered, but on the contrary, whenever an effort is made to get volunteers, the said Unionists concert together to prevent it, and declare that they will fight for Abe. Lincoln before they will fight for Jeff Davis; and whereas, strangers of suspicious character have been lately seen among said Unionists and from recent circumstances it is evident that they have communication with the enemy, & where-

³ The inclosure is not in Gov. Shorter's papers; however, it is no doubt the same as that which Dr. Winn forwarded (see *supra*).

as from their late threats against loyal citizens, it appears that the lives and property of the few faithful men of the county are hourly in danger, now therefore in view of these facts, and many others which we might state,

Resolved 1st

That we earnestly petition His Excellency the Hon. John Gill Shorter, Gov. of Alabama, to intervene by a vigorous exercise of the executive authority to suppress and strangle the said spirit of disloyalty & rebellion.

Resolved 2nd

That we recommend that each citizen of the county be required to take the oath of allegiance, & that all who refuse to do so be dealt with as aliens.

Resolved 3rd

That we recommend, if it can be constitutionally done, that a requisition be made upon the county of Winston for at least 250 soldiers for the Confederate Army.

On motion it was

Resolved

That a committee consisting of the Chairman, the Secretary and (22) twenty two other persons, to wit John York, Thos. M. Martin, Wm. York, M. M. Moore, Van. T. Davis, Joseph Davis, Millinton Ballard, Geo. Ballard, Ambrose Burns. D. J. McClesky, Thos. G. Poe, Geo. Wilson, Wm W. Beard, J. T. Noles, Saml. Noles, Joseph Noles, Thos. Davis, Joel Manis, L. M. Doe, W. W. Fretwell, Early Fretwell, Daniel York, be requested to forward the proceedings of this meeting to Gov. Shorter, and solicit his early attention.

A. Kaeiser, Chairman.

J. M. Bibb. Secr.)

His Excellency

John Gill Shorter

Gov of Alabama

Montgomery.

EMMA SANSON
GOVERNOR SHORTER TO R. B. KYLE⁴

Executive Department
Montgomery, Ala.
May 12th. 1863

R. B. Kyle, Esq.
Gadsden, Ala.

Sir:

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your interesting letter, of 7th inst. containing particulars of the recent raid upon Gadsden, & the capture of the Marauders, by Gen. Forrest. While I regret, exceedingly, to hear of your losses, I congratulate you, upon your escape from the clutches of men, so devoid of principle & feeling. Upon receiving the news of their capture, & of the fact that they were serving with armed negroes, I notified Gen. Bragg of my intention, and made a demand of the Secretary of War, that these officers be turned-over to the authorities of the state, for trial in accordance with the proclamation of the President. And, further hearing that there were Alabamians serving with them as such, I deemed it my duty to demand them for trial, unless the Confederacy should hold them for treason against it.

To this communication, I have, as yet, no reply, & I cannot judge as to the probability of its being granted, unless I knew all the facts attending the case, & the terms of the Convention, by which they were surrendered to Gen. Forrest.

I regret that I have no state force, at disposal, with which to accede to your request for troops, to be stationed for the protection of N. Ala. Gen. Clanton's force is raising, under Confederate authority, & was, originally, intended to operate on the coast; but, as its proportions have been, largely, increased, it is not improbable that a portion of it may be placed upon other duty. Gen. Clanton is, himself, desirous to serve in N. Ala. where his force would prove a most effectual protection against

⁴ John Gill Shorter Letter Book, Dec. 6, 1861-July 13, 1863, pp. 391 -392.

such raids; as his bold, dashing, and energetic manner & action would prompt him to meet them, at once, without delay; but, of course, he must obey the orders of his superiors; and it is probable that the heavy withdrawal of troops from Mobile, may induce them to order him, for a while, to that neighbourhood.

But I think your security for the present, lies, mainly, in the rapidity and completeness of the pursuit made by Gen. Forrest, & the readiness with which the advance force of the enemy was met, near Rome. No raid can be successful, where the citizens promptly turn-out to repel the invader. It is in the startling suddenness-leaving no time for preparation, that the success of the raider must consist. But, when, upon slight notice, the pass & the bridge are defended by citizens, who feel that their property, homes, & lives are to be saved, only by stout hearts — & strong arms; when every thicket conceals a foe, & when the Mountain-path, & Broad Highway are both to be contested—the invader feels his insecurity & is ready to leave for easier conquests.

In answer to the many letters-written in the alarm created by the late movement, I have enclosed my proclamation, of 22d December last, and urged the formation of companies, under its provisions. Some of our militia-officers feel the necessity of providing for its efficiency, & the Adjutant-Gen. will send-out orders, which, I hope, will awaken them to more earnestness. In addition, arrangements have been made, for a line of couriers, which, by speedy transmission of intelligence, will enable us to baffle any such parties, by meeting, & checking their advance. Ammunition has been sent to Selma, Talladega, & other places, for distribution to officers of organized commands. With these preparations—& the vigilance, & readiness of our people, I trust we will be secured against any future movement of this sort.

Very Resp't, (signed) Jno Gill Shorter.

P. S. I have read, with much pleasure, in the Jacksonville Republican, of 9th inst. an interesting account of the conduct of Miss Jane Sansom, of your county, in piloting Gen. Forrest over a swollen stream, while in pursuit of the enemy. Please inform me if the facts stated are, circumstantially, true, as, in such

event, I shall compliment her with an appropriate notice from the Executive office. J. G. S.

A TRUE HEROINE.⁵

An incident connected with the recent Yankee raid is worthy of record. When Gen. Forrest arrived at Black Creek, 3 miles from Gadsden, in hot pursuit of the Vandals, he found his progress checked by a swollen stream and a demolished bridge, while a detachment of the enemy lingered behind to dispute his passage to the opposite side. Ignorant of the ford, if indeed there were any, Gen. Forrest himself rode back in quest of the necessary information. At the first house he made the inquiry whether there was any person who could pilot his command across the stream, to which a young lady made reply—no male person being present—that she knew the ford, and that if she had a horse she would accompany and direct him. There being no time for ceremony, Gen. Forrest proposed that she should get up behind him to which, with no maiden coyness, but actuated only by the heroic impulse to serve her country, she at once consented. Her mother, however, overhearing the suggestion, and sensitively alive to her daughter's safety and honor, interposed the objection. "Sir, my child cannot thus accompany a stranger" "Madam," respectfully urged the far-famed chieftain. "my name is Forrest, and I will be responsible for this young lady's safety." "Oh," rejoined the good woman, "if you are Gen. Forrest she can go with you!"

Mounted behind the General, she piloted him across the stream, exposed to the whistling bullets of the enemy; nor did she retire from her post of danger until the last man had safely crossed, and the column seen in continuance of its rapid pursuit, accompanied by her earnest prayers for success.

The name of this heroine is Miss Jane Sansom, who deserves to be long and gratefully remembered, not only by Gen. Forrest and his gallant men but by every lover of the cause to which she rendered such efficient and timely aid. The General wrote a note of thanks, and sent it back to the heroic girl.

⁵ **Jacksonville Republican**, May 9, 1863.

R. B. KYLE TO GOVERNOR SHORTER

Gadsden Ala May 25th '63

Gov. Shorter

Montgomery Ala

Sir

In reply to your enquiry in regard to the correctness of the report of the correspondent of the Jacksonville Republican, as to Miss Sansoms heroic conduct at the Black Creek ford. I have to say the facts as stated, are circumstantially true; but there was one very important error in the communication referred to. Miss Jane Sansom is reported as being the lady who acted as guide to Gen Forrest, when it was Miss Emma Sansom—I desire to call your special attention to this error— Gen Forrest on his return through this place complimented Miss Emma by calling on her in person, attended by his staff and field officers, thanking her for the assistance she had rendered his command and the country. I expected to have been in Montgomery about this date, but am confined to my bed by a severe spell of bilious fever.

Very respectfully

Your Obedient Serv't

R. B. Kyle

A UNIVERSITY CADET'S LETTER¹

April 14, 1861

Dear Father,

I received a letter from Tom Brown some three or four days ago. I was glad to hear from it that you were all well. He seemed to have a *grudge* against Crenshaw on some account (about plaguing him about the ladies I believe) and he let off some steam in his letter. For instance he said that every body almost were being promoted to office about there by the President or governor that Crenshaw had received a very high commission—which was that of “Overseer of the road between “Long’s Mill” and the gate at Porters. Tom’s letter was very interesting and I hope soon to answer it and receive just such another.

I think that the prospects of the “university have been changed for the worse lately. Col Huse the Commandant, has left. He has not given up his commission here but it is almost certain that he will never return. I told you in my last letter that he had gone on to Montgomery. He returned and 4 days ago he gave us a long fare-well talk. He said that “when he first came down here he held also a commission in the United States army, but that when there was a rupture in the service he had been offered the alternative to throw up his commission either here or *there* “he said that he chose to adhere to the South. He said that a few days ago he had been summoned to Montgomery by the President that he had sworn allegiance to the “Southern army” and had received a commission. What that commission was he did not say, nor his orders, But he said that on the morrow he would have to leave that though he did not give up his commission here yet he hardly expected ever to return. He then went on to express his interest in the University & the Cadets and said that it had been intimated to him in Montgomery that this would probably be the “West Point” of the South. Said that this was a critical period with the university and that everything depended on our behaving between now and the next

¹ James A. Hall to Major Bolling Hall of Montgomery. The letter was written on University of Alabama stationery showing the gateway approach to the University campus where James A. Hall was a student. The original letter is in the hands of his niece. He later became Captain of Company K, 24th Alabama Infantry Regiment.

"Commencement. He wound up by expressing himself deeply interested in the future welfare of each cadet and requested each one of us to come and shake hands with him before he left." Col' Huse has never been condemned by the boys except in two instances There is no doubt but that he was an excellent officer in losing him the university has lost its best officer It is said that President Davis has sent Col Huse to Europe after arms Davis told Dr Garland that Col. Huse knew more about artillery and was the best artillery officer in the United states army. Davis knew him when secretary of war. Col Huse will probably be made Colonel of a regiment of artillery. Since writing this letter I have received yours of the 12. Be sure and tell Carrie howdy for me.

Yrs.

J. A. H.

CASPER W. BOYD

Company I. 15th Alabama Infantry, C. S. A.
A casualty of the battle of Cross Keys Virginia
His last letters written home¹

Camp Wigfall March 13th, 1862

Manassus. Va

My Dear Parents

With that love that has ever prompted me to write to you causes me to writ at the present time & that is as grate as ever a son had for his Parents I received the letter that you sent James & I. I feel thankful to God that in the majority of the letter that I have rec.. from you all has brought the good news of you enjoying good health. We got back off of picket yesterday eavening we staid out three days we had avery cold time of it but I did not suffer from cold much for I put on plenty of close and wrapped up my self well I stood it finly. We had a larg snow yesterday. I have bought me an exilent pare of boots to waid the snow and mud for we have plenty of it here We do not hafter drill evry n[ight] having a very easy time of it. We [won't] hafter drill much more till sumer if any There is som talk of us moving away from this place I recking Joseph felt he was with some of the home folks when brother McLendo was at his Reg I would be very glad to hear the old man preach we have no preaches in our Reg We are to draw money to day we have don sined the paroll to draw I will draw for four monts this time, will be \$44.00. I have on hand \$47.1½ in gold I do not care a bout any of the fellows here knowing it. I am well now I hope that you all are enjoying good health Give my comptiments to inquiring friends As ever your sincer son

C. W. Boyd

The last letter that I sent I wrote to De, Pitt & Penn. I send a tract to them in this

Casper

¹ Originals filed in Alabama Dept. Archives and History.

Dear little brother Penn

I received your little letter You said that you was still going to school I hope that you are learning fast Have you and De and Pitt got the letter that I wrote to you [some]time since, you said that [Aun]t Juay sent hody to me tell her that I have got to be a first rate cook I have som garden peas on cooking they fine tell her houdy for me Well Penn have you picked out a sweet heart for me yet tell me her name Nothing more now be a good boy

Your affectionate brother

Apr. 7th 1862

Rhappahanoc, Va.

Dear Brother

A few days ago I wrote to Pa & Mother but as I have an oportunity of sinding one by Mr Cattret to you all for we hafter send letters now when we get a chanc we geserally have a getter chanc of getting letter than sending them off. Cattret has a discharge we have been expecting a fight hear for som time but I hare that the yankees are getting futhe off now In the letter that I wrote previous to this I gave you all a small description of our fall back from Manassus and also our retrete wile out on picket There was two regiment out on picke ours and the 10th Va. Reg. thay began to fier bums and cannons ball at us about twelve o'clock on the 28th Mar ceased firing about sunset did not any of get hurt some of bum and balls fell prety clost to us our company and one othe company had to guard the forrd acrost the Rappahanoc the night after the firing we ware nott ineterupted but net morning before we had got far off we had only gone round the brow of the hill som of our caveldry road upt to the very spot wher I am and som

others ware on post and the yankees began to fier on them with their rifels anl muskett but thay did not hit a man sum of us was near a nuff to sut but we did not have any order to sute. I think it will be som time befor we will get into a fight there is a good deel of fighting going on in this state now when we are out on picket we are under the comand of General Stuart he has comand of the picket line. We are in genera Webs division, we here think it a wis plan in General Jhonston falling back we feel confiden of sucess in whipping the enemy Our caveldrd are bringin prisoners occasionally some of them talk like they are good to whip us, our success will only be through the gooness of God. Our Regm is recruiting up greatly Our Collonel & Lieut Col. has both got back and have taken charg of the Reg They had ben off sick there is another company gin to join our regiment Dr Hill's compan thay are to be here today Our Regn is tolerable healthy now

I am well

I got a letter from Jasper McLendon the other day. Well De I learn that you have taken up the trade of making shoes it very usful trade now when you give me all the news I have very little to write to you and very bad paper to write on.

Tell Ma & Pa that I am allway glad to receive addvice from them, and all that thay write to me is read with tre greatest istrest.

May the Lord spair us to meet again is my prayer

Love to you all,

Your since Brother

C. W. Boyd

May 3rd 1862

Camp on the Blueridge, Va.

Dear Parents

I returned camps yesterday I found the Reg . . . in the Mountines. General Ewell Division came here to reinforse General Jackson We belong to Ewell's division. I think this is avery healthy potion of the country we have the best of water to

drink the finest spring here in the mountains that I ever saw. I think if we stay in the mountains this somer we will enjoying good health. The enemy has been retreating from us lately it seems that the enemy is afraid to attack us here. General Jackson has a strong force now. They are expecting a fight at York Town I suppose that the two armies are fronting each other, I feel uneasy about Joseph, and am anxious to hear from him as I have learnt that his Regt was in the fight at Sardis & guess before this letter reaches you I will have heard from him I received two letters yesterday one from you and the other from De the one from De was dated 27 Mar the one from was dated 3 of April, I was truly glad to hear from you for that was the first letter that I had got in a long time I know that you all are very punctual in writing to, I am well now I was not sick much while I was at the hospital, I waded a few days ago I waded more than I ever did in my life before I waded 147 pounds if I keep on I soon weigh a 150. I must close as I probably will have a chance directly of sending this to the office. You can direct your letters in care of Captin Park he is our Capt now and I presume that I will get them as quick by having them sent to Richmond put the brigad on them. 15 Ala Vol. . 7 Brigade, Gen. Ewell Division It does me a heap of good to get letters from you all Do not be uneasy when you do not get them from me My best love to you all send love to Paley and Joseph for me also to cousin Callie

Your sincer son

C. W. Boyd

[May 3, 1862 ?]

Dear Mother

This morning I wrote to you and Pa and sealed it up but did not get a chance of sending it off this morning. This evening I received a letter from you and one that I was anxious to receive. It brought some good news as well as some bad I was glad to hear that brother Joseph came out safe. I was very anxious to hear from him I was sorry to hear of so many of my friends and associates getting wounded and killed I sympa-

tise with Brother McLenlon and his family and also with the friends of the other wounded kille that you mention.

I was glad to hear that you all ware well I hope and trust in the Lord that we all may be sparred meet a gain

Tell Sister Mollie that she must not think hard of me for not saying anything about here in all my letters tell her that I think of her and all the childron every time I write and love them dearly and want to see them bad. Tell her that I staid all nigh at hous where there was a little girl that made me think of her I almost wanted kiss her becaus she made me think so much about sister Moley, also som little boys that made me think Pitt Penn & Sinn I had a fine time coming on to my Reg the other day I staid to nights on the roal at privet houses, slept on large poster bed and set at a table and eat good victules, but as to sleeping on a better bed, I rest as well on a palet if not better I like a hard bed, Tell the servants houly for me Love to you all remember me in your prayers, I am well,

As ever yours since

Son C. W. Boyd

May 14 1862

In the Blue Ridge

Va

Dear Brother

It appears that you all do not get my letters, Dan Murphree told me this morning that he had received a letter fom Urben he said that Ma was very uneasy about me that you all had hard so meny reports a bout us gitting into fights I surpose that you all have heard that we nearly all ware killed, it is all faulse. We have not been in a battle yet not a man ha been killed, You all nead not belive half the reports that you hear, for there are som fellows that take a delight in starting such reports by writing lies back.

My health is very good now.

I sent a letter to Ma by our Agitant two or three day a go he said that he would put in in the office in Columbus, Ga, I presume that you will have it in hand some time before you guet this, We do not stay in one place long at a time now we hafter keep our rashins cooked up to as to be reay at a moments worning to march,

It is reported that Gentrads Jackson in a fight the otho day Taken 5500 priners and all their waggons anl a large amount of provisions he managed to cut them off and takened them it is truly good new on our part. Our Brigad is kept rather in the reserve. James Jones is well he make a very good soldier I have got a long finely with my officers and fllow soldiers they seem to think a good deel of me. The greates pleasur that I have is when I am realing my bible and praying to my Creater my Heavenly Father for his care a lon do I feel safe I som time tad my bible on the sabath and go to som grove where I have no one to desterbe me there I try to worship God in my umble way, I am often shocket by the wickel othes that my fellow soldiers role out. It is raning here now my paper is rathe damp to write on, If I should git so I could not write some one would write to you all, so don't be uneasy, When aroond the family aulthe you all bow in prayer remember me I have no doubt but what I am remembered by you

Tell the children that I am anxious to see them, houdy to the servents. My best love to you all

Your sincer brother C. W. Boyd

Confederate Hospital
Charlottesville June 21

My dear mother & Father

If you received my last letter written five days ago, I know you feel very anxious to hear how I am getting.

I am happy to say I am now very comfortably situated—— have a good kind D. to attend me and a lady visits me, & I promises I shall need nothing that she can get, to promote my comfort and happiness.

I eat little, -my cough is bad yet: I will not -my trust is still in God, who will take care of those who love, and serve Him — and should we not meet again my dear mother in this world I have assurance we will in another & better, where all is *love, peace, & happiness* — There no hearts will be *made sad*, and tears of sorrow shed. Do not make yourself unhappy about me. I feel that I am with friends who care for me. We have things very comfortable here. I eat but little yet — hope to have an appetite soon. You must remember me kindly to my friends, & particularly to my dear little sister — who I hope to see when this dreadful war is over.

Buel's division passed here yesterday, there was much excitement. I heard all the soldiers who were wounded, would get a furlough home — so I fondly hope to be able to see you — but dear mother, do not look too soon. If you have heard from my brothers in Corinth & how are they my love to them — as well as all my friends. My kind regards to the servants. I beg an interest in your prayers. May God spare us until we meet.

Your affectionate son

C. W. Boyd

My cough is much better to day — the Dr has checked it.

Dear Madam.

I who am writing this letter for your son have visited him often, & will still do so, he is quite patient — will I hope soon be up & going about. Sincerely your friend.

Miss. C. V. Brand.

Charlottesville

June 26, 1862

Mrs. Boyd

Dear Madam

This evening at 3 O'clock your son fell asleep as I trust in Christ. his last moments were peaceful I believ, on yesterday the Dr performed an opperation took a bullet from his

side, the operation he was not able to stand, when I called on him early this morning I found him sinking fast, he said to me should I die take the ring I send enclose in to mother & tell her to give it to my sister Mary. I do deeply sympathize with you, for your son won the respect of many. He had every kind attention shown him. I found him a gentleman This eve he asked for Icie I want to direct some but ere I got back his spirit was gone to him — who gave it, his nurse & Dr were beside his bed Jo he will be decently buried, The only request he was able to make was to send the ring, he was not aware he was so near his end. I had a lock of hair also taken from his head which I will send you. The Dr has his purse. I know not how much money he has.

Last Sunday I wrote to you for him, he was fearful I would make you uneasy & said I must add next morning that he was better, He spoke of his Pious mother & is now I trust in Heaven, so weep not as those without hope. Please write immediately as I will feel anxious to know if you get this letter, ring & hair. May God bless the Father Mother Sisters & Brothers, is the wish of you & your sons friend.

Kate V Brand

SOLDIERS KILLED IN BATTLE

COMPANY I, 15 ALABAMA REGIMENT

(This record was kept by Allen Thomas, who was in this Company.)

Frank Davis

Casper Boyd

John Park, killed at Seven Days, Richmond

Thomas Craig, killed at Seven Days, Richmond

Alec. Farmer, killed at Seven Days, Richmond

Richard Walker, killed at Seven Days, Richmond

James Mottley, killed at Seven Days, Richmond

James Urquhart, killed at Seven Days, Richmond

Asbury Tucker, killed at Seven Days, Richmond

Perry Pitts, killed at Second Manassas

Jeff White killed at Haze River (prob. Hazel)
William Smith, killed at Haze River
Captain Park, killed at Knoxville, Tenn.
Seaborn Harris, killed at Chicamauga
Thomas Holland, killed at Chicamauga
John Hanchey, killed at Dandridge, Tenn.
Sam Gardner, killed at Gettysburgh
Jeff Devane, killed at Sharpsburg, Md.
John Underwood, killed at Sharpsburg, Md.
Bob Duck, killed at Fuzzle's Mill (prob. Fussell's)
Tom Norton, killed at Fuzzle's Mill
Brad Wilson, killed at Petersburg, Va.
Geo. Logan, killed at Fredericksburg
Wm. Powell, killed at Wilderness
Larkin Norris, killed at Wilderness
Green Davenport, killed at Wilderness
John White, killed at Spottsylvania Court House
Bill Coombs, killed at Hanover Court House
Green McCormick, killed at Deep Bottom
Wright, Moseley, killed at Ft. Harrison
Jackson Redmond, killed at Darbytown Road

An Historical Record Roll of Company I, 15th Alabama Infantry Regiment, C.S.A., dated at Richmond, Virginia, January 1, 1865, shows that Casper W. Boyd enlisted in that organization on July 3, 1861, at Troy, Alabama, with the grade of Private. He was 29 years of age at date of enlistment and single. He was born in Alabama; was a farmer by occupation, and gave his place of residence as Orion, Alabama. He was present at the Battle of Winchester, Virginia, on May 25, 1862. He was severely wounded at the Battle of Cross Keys on June 8, 1862, and died of his wounds at Charlottesville, Virginia, on June 26, 1862.

A List, Condition of Claims, 2nd Aud., C. S. Treas. shows that Alfred Boyd, father of C. W. Boyd, filed a death claim for his son on October 13, 1863. It shows C. W. Boyd served as a Private in Company I, 15th Alabama Infantry Regiment, C.S.A. The claim was verified January 18, 1865.

TURKEYTOWN C.S.A.

LETTERS

Contributed by Rev. Elbert Watson

Camp Jones August 22, 1861

Dear friend I drop you a few lines to let you know that I am well and well Satisfied with a camp life. we had a pleasant trip from Gadsden here and we have a Butifull place for our camp. we are close to plenty of good water, and close to a Butifull Town And plenty of fine Ladies who cheer us up as we pop along the Streets with there Smiles and charms, But I expect to Marry in old Cherokee. we are vary well fixed. we have good Tents, and we have plenty to Eat, we have a vary agreeable company, and good officers who treat us kindly: we had Preachiny in our camp Sunday Morning and Evening, we are drilling and learn very fast. we were Mustered in to the Service last Saturday Evening and draw our arms in a few days. I Saw a Regiment from Mifippi last Saturay on there way to Richmond. I do not know how long we will stay here perhaps a good while. the Ladies of Huntsville visit us Every Day and Seem to take a deep interest in our wellfare. I want you to write me as soon as you get this And write to me all the News generally and then I will have Something that is interesting to write to you. Give my love and Sincere good wishes to all the family and all my friends and accept the same yourself. I remain, yours truly.

Robert T. Moore

To Mr. Thomas Anderson

Camp near Corinth, Mississippi, April 21st, 1862

Dear Friend with great pleasure I avail myself of this opportunity to drop you a few lines. We got here last Thursday Evening. it took us several lays to get here, we had to come such a way around before we could get here. We got all of our things here safe only we got some of our Eggs Broke and we had to change cars in such a hurry at Kingston that we left our

Confederate hats in the cars. I never hated anything as bad in all my life, But it is war times and we can't help it, George is well, and likes camp life tolerable well. I do not feel well today, but I hope that my health will improve, and we fondly hope that this may find you all well. I give your Brother William the things that you sent to him, and he is well, But he don't look as well as he did. Several of our Boys are sick, anl we haven't got but a few men that is able for duty, But we are going to move our camp tomorrow, in about one mile of Corinth, where we will have Good Water. I think then that the health of the Regiment will improve, Well Tom Bob is a prisoner, he was detailed to help carry the wounded men of the Battlefields, and him and seven of our Boys were taken, when our Men fell back the Yankees took them prisoners, But our Colonel says he will get them back again in a short time, the Yankees are willing to Exchange Prisoners, we will get them back. Twenty nine of our Boys was wounded and Nat Burns is supposed to be killed, the Boys says that he fell Bally wounded. I saw most of our wounded Boys anl there wounds looked vary bad, the most of them are gone home on furloughs. Sam McAlister is in the Hospital in Mobile. I saw him as we come through, and he is badly wounded, he was shot through the thigh with a Minnie Ball, and he got the Measels, poor fellow he is in bad condition But I hope that he will soon get well, there is nine hundred and fifty yankee prisoners in Mobile I went and saw them, and some of them are a rough looking set, they are throwing up Breastworks here and preparing for another Battle But I don't think that the yankees will ever fight us anymore here, I think they are tiard of it. It is said that we lost twenty five hundred men, and the yankees lost twenty thousand. The yankees lost four Generals and we lost tow, General Johnson and General Gladden was killed. There is several thousand men about here, I never saw so many men together in all my life, there has been a great deal of Rain here, and we have a Muddy time, But we enjoy ourselves toleral well, for it is War times. There is so many men camped about here that the camps looks like a large town of White Houses. Thomas you had better step over some Saturday Evening and see us, and see us cooking a pot of meat and dumplings, and the take Supper with us, and we will have a

canly pulling, for it is war times out here. Give my best Respect and Sincere gool wishes to your Mother and Sisters and tell them all howdy for me, and George sends his best Respects to you all, I think that we can whip the yankees out by fall and come home, and have some more parties. You must write to me and write all the news, and I will write you all the news in the camps—But be sure to write, it is wet and cold and I will close. I Remain yours truly, Wm. T. Moore

To Mr. Thomas Anderson,

Tell all my friends to write me, direct your letters to Corinth Mississippi.

(Original letters are in the possession of Mrs. Herman Anderson of Turkeytown, Alabama. William and Robert were members of Company D (Gadsden), 19th Alabama Regiment, and were 25 and 21 years of age respectively when the war began.)

Filed in the Military Records Division of the Department of Archives and History is an original muster roll of Company D, 19th Alabama Infantry Regiment, and thereon William T. Moore is shown as a private, age 25 years, and Robert P. (T) Moore is shown as a private, age 21 years. This outfit was made up of men from Cherokee County and was commanded by Captain W. P. Hollingsworth. The regiment was organized at Huntsville in 1861. It lost heavily in the battle of Shiloh, as well as several other battles. (Ed.)

MONTGOMERY CONFEDERATE POSTOFFICE

On the first day of September, 1857, Thomas Welsh, a native of the State of Tew Hampshire but who had been living for some years in Montgomery was appointed as the Postmaster at Montgomery to succeed Matt P. Blue. Mr. Welsh served as Postmaster until the organization of the Confederate Government in 1861. Then he became by the terms of the Confederate set up automatically the Confederate Postmaster and served until his death in April 1863. The Postoffice was located just in the rear of M. Munter's store on Montgomery Street until October, 1860, and then moved to a temporary site in Montgomery Hall on what is now Dexter Avenue.

On account of the arrangements between the United States Government and the Confederate Government whereby the U.S. Federal Government would cease the operation of the Confederate Postal affairs as of June 1, 1861, United States stamps were no longer legal for the transmission of mail and this instituted a new arrangement which was carried into effect by what was termed in the South a *Provisional* stamped envelope, and local Postmasters' adhesives. Thomas Welsh devised an envelope imprinted with a design embodying a circle in which were the words "Paid" and "T. Welsh" around the upper and lower edges and in the center there was a 5 or a 10. These Provisional envelopes are of intense interest not only to students of the Confederacy but to those interested in philatelic matters. (See illustration accompanying this paper.)

On the death of Mr. Welsh, Edmund M. Burton succeeded as Postmaster and Edwin I. Belser served as Assistant Postmaster. Both these men have descendents in Montgomery at the present time.

See *Organization of the Confederate Postoffice Department at Montgomery*, 1960.

Postmaster will please return this letter to
Messrs. JOHN HENLEY & Co.,
Montgomery, Ala.
if not called for within 10 days.



A. G. Naftel Esq.
Strata

Hen

BANKING HOUSE OF JOHN HENLEY & CO.,

Montgomery, Ala.

Oct 11 1861

Your *Order* for \$ *74.67*

Due *9/12* (Oct 17) 1861

To *A. G. Naftel Esq. Strata*

The cover herewith illustrated shows a draft from Henley & Co., the Montgomery banker, dated October 11, and addressed to A. G. Naftel, Esq., Strata, Ala. Villages in Montgomery County existing as of now are named for both Mr. Naftel and his place of residence, Strata. John Henley's bank in Montgomery was located on what is now Dexter Avenue and just west of a building known in 1861 as Estell Hall.

SHELBY SPRINGS C.S.A. HOSPITAL

Camp Winn, Shelby Springs, (Ala.)

March 28, 1862.

Dear Ma :

We arrived at this place yesterday at 2 o'clock after a very tiresome journey as we had to travel all that evening and that night and had a very poor supper and no breakfast, but we are getting on pretty well. There are 9 companies here but they are not full as a good many of the men have furloughs to go home. We were received politely by the Colonel whose name is Fraysier and we eat at the same table with him but we have two tents which we brought along and are staying in them just outside the lines of the regiment. Shelby Springs is a very pleasant place and seems to be very healthy

Your affectionate son,

H. P. Cochrane

To Mrs. S. S. L. Cochrane,

Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

During the latter part of the war, the Confederate government took over the hotel and cottages for hospital quarters. Peter A. Brannon, director of the Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, wrote the following statement after an interview with a Confederate officer several years ago:

Captain Hubbell Pierce, who lived at Coosada, Alabama, was for a short time in a Confederate hospital at Shelby Springs. The hospital occupied the old hotel building and cabins. The chief surgeon was Dr. D. Warren Brickell. His assistants were a Dr. Bradbury, who later located in New Orleans; Dr. John P. Furness, who died long after the war in Selma, Alabama, and Dr. Jones, who lived in Meridian, Mississippi, after the war. Captain Pierce thinks the hospital was under management of the Catholic Sisters. He recalls Father LeRay as a priest stationed there. Father LeRay was later made General Chaplain of the Confederate

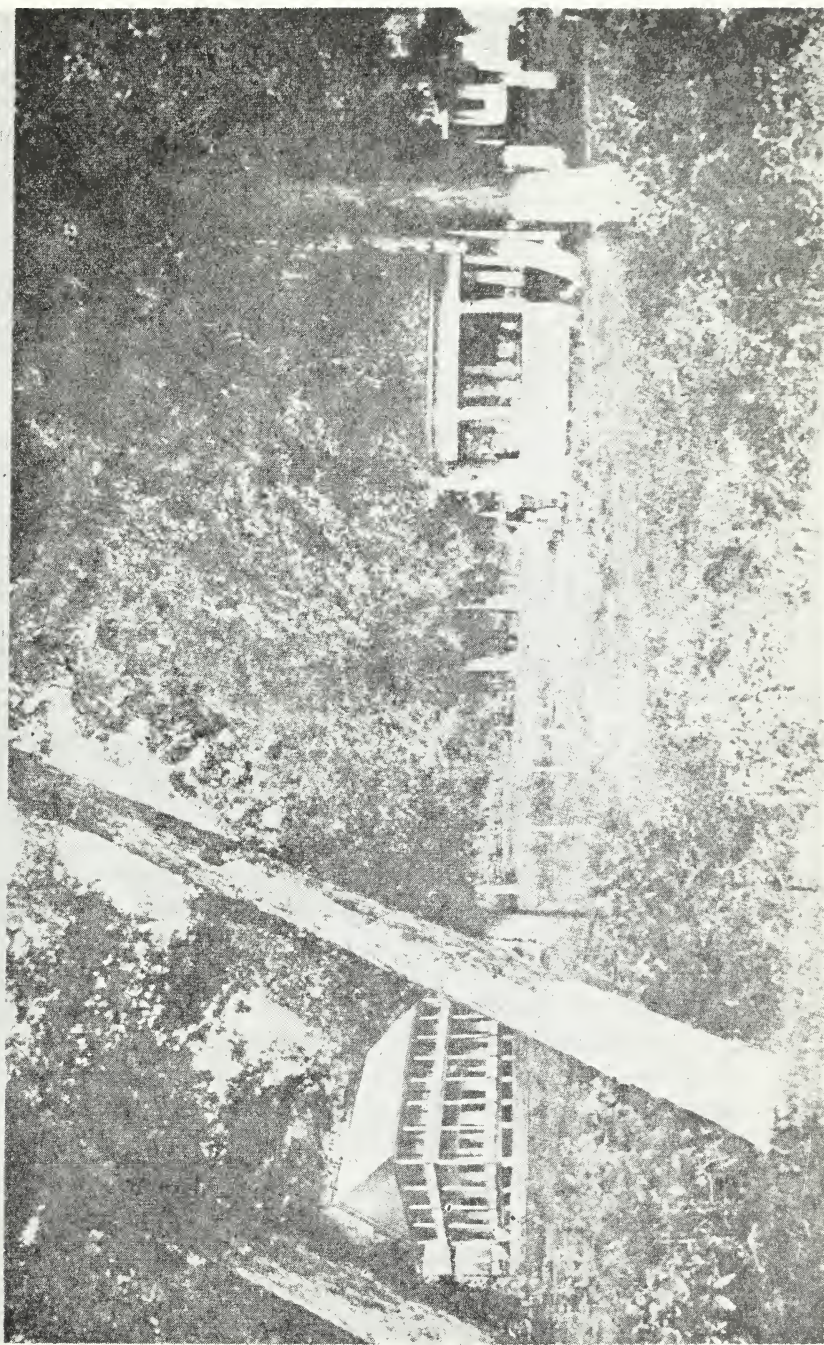
Armies, and after the war became Archbishop of New Orleans.

On March 16, 1864, Lieutenant General Leonidas Polk ordered Surgeon Benjamin H. Thomas to proceed to Shelby Springs and take charge of the hospital. He was to take with him all hospital property in his possession, extend the capacity of the Shelby Springs Hospital to 350 beds, and make it a complete Soldiers' Home. It was known as a Soldiers' Home until March 31, 1864, when Preston B. Scott, medical director of Alabama, ordered that it should be designated as General Hospital, Shelby Springs. This later designation which meant a home for invalid and disabled soldiers, was continued until the close of the war. Unfortunately many of the soldiers found a permanent resting place in the cemetery, located on a ridge overlooking the springs.

Surgeon Thomas continued in charge of the hospital until November 22, 1864, when he was succeeded by Surgeon D. Warren Brickwell, who remained in charge until the end of the war.

Historic Alabama Hotels and Resorts by James F. Sulzby, Jr. Used by courtesy of University Press.

Shelby Springs



CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL DAY

The custom of decorating soldiers' graves as a memorial to the heroism of the Southern dead originated in Columbus, Georgia, and the first meeting was held April 26, 1866. The suggestion was made by Mrs. Lizzie Rutherford Ellis and the Memorial Association formed in Columbus at the time became the Lizzie Rutherford Chapter of the Ladies Memorial Association of the South. Mrs. Ellis selected the 26th of April because it was the anniversary of the surrender of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston and as well the Spring time in the South is about in its full bloom during the last week of April, so the many flower tributes added an impetus to the sentiment which was carried with the occasion. The meeting took place in the home, former residence of Mrs. John Tyler, one of the original members of the Association. Many erroneous statements have been dissiminated through out the South for years, this anniversary attributing Columbus, Miss., as being the site of the origination, though the Mississippi town never claimed that honor. They did celebrate Confederate Memorial Day the next year, 1867, and likewise Montgomery, the Cradle of the Confederacy, celebrated a Memorial Day in 1867.

Confederate Memorial Associations have universally to the present day carried on the tradition of these celebrations. In later years much attention has been given to the custom in Columbus, Ga., where is located today the world's largest military establishment, Fort Benning, named for Gen. Henry Benning, whose descendants were instrumental in the organization and perpetuation of the Ladies Memorial Association. In the Southland today Confederate Memorial Day is not universally celebrated on the 26th of April, some former Confederate States now celebrating June 3rd, which is Jefferson Davis' birthday and some of the Southern States, particularly border States, have celebrated Confederate Memorial Day at the same time of the National Decoration Day, May 30th.

It is fitting to call attention to the fact that in Columbus, when the Southern ladies decorated the graves of the dead heroes and strewed flowers on these sacred places those Federal soldiers buried at Columbus, were likewise honored with the Confederate dead and since that time and to the present

the women in Alabama, Georgia, Florida and Mississippi, who celebrate April 26th decorate alike both Northern and Southern soldiers' graves. (Editor.)

RECENT "CENTENNIAL" ADDITIONS TO DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES & HISTORY LIBRARY

(Assembled by Julia A. Perdue, Accessions Clerk)

- Doctors in Gray*, by H. H. Cunningham
Railroads of the Confederacy, by Robert C. Black
Confederate City, Augusta, Ga., 1860-1865, by Florence Fleming Corley
Confederate Centennial Studies, No. 16, Alabama Tories
Confederate Centennial Studies, No. 17, Colin J. McRae
Alabama Tories, by William Stanley Hoole
Ordeal of the Union, Vol. 1, by Allen Nevins
The War for the Union, Vol. 2, by Allen Nevins
Horsemen Blue and Gray, James Ralph Johnson
The Singing Sixties, Willard A. & Porter W. Heaps
Battles of the Civil War, A Pictorial Presentation, Kurz & Allison Prints
The Confederate Congress, by Wilfred B. Yearns
Songs of the Civil War, by Irwin Silber
The American Heritage Picture History of the Civil War, Ed. by Richard M. Ketchum
A Civil War Treasury of Tales, Legends and Folklore, by B. A. Botkin
Recollections of Christmas During the War, by W. T. Charles
The Civil War: A Centennial of Eyewitness Drawings, U.S. National Gallery of Art
The Civil War Soldier, Booklet by G. V. Rolph & Noel Clark (also picture post cards)
Uniform and Dress of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States, (Confederate States War Dept.) Introduction by Richard Harwell.
Confederate States Paper Money, by Arlie R. Slabaugh
War Time Journal of a Georgia Girl, 1864-65, (Fanny Andrews) reprint, Ed. by Spencer Bidwell King, Jr.
Organization of the Confederate Post Office Department in Montgomery, by Peter A. Brannon

The Camp, The Bivouac, and the Battle Field, by W. L. Gammage, Brigade Surgeon, (reprint). The 1958 edition from the Arkassas Southern Press is a reprint of the Selma, Ala., Mississippi Book and Job Office, 1864, and is of peculiar interest to Alabamians as Dr. Gammage was born in Alabama in 1827 and served in the Confederate Army with an Arkansas Brigade. He was killed in an accident at Mobile on his way home to Texas in 1865.

"Most Lovely Lizzie", Love Letters of a Young Confederate Soldier. Gift to the Department from William Young Elliot of Birmingham, Ala.

ALABAMA'S REPRESENTATIVES IN THE
CONFEDERATE STATES CONGRESS

by

William Letford

PROVISIONAL CONGRESS

First Session

At Montgomery, Alabama, February 4, 1861.

Second Session (called)

At Montgomery, Alabama, April 29, 1861.

Third Session

At Richmond, Virginia, July 20, 1861.

Fourth Session

At Richmond, Virginia, Sept. 3, 1861.

Fifth Session

At Richmond, Virginia, November 18, 1861.

FIRST CONGRESS

First Session

At Richmond, Virginia, February 18, 1862.

Second Session

At Richmond, Virginia, August 18, 1862.

Third Session

At Richmond, Virginia, January 12, 1863.

Fourth Session

At Richmond, Virginia, December 7, 1863.

*SECOND CONGRESS**First Session*

At Richmond, Virginia, May 2, 1864.

Second Session

At Richmond, Virginia, November 7, 1864.

PROVISIONAL CONGRESS

At Montgomery, Alabama, February 4, 1861.

Hon. J. J. Hooper, Alabama, Secretary of the
Provisional Congress.

Hon. W. P. Chilton	Montgomery County
Hon. Jabez L. M. Curry	Talladega County
Hon. Stephen Hale	Greene County
Hon. David P. Lewis	Lawrence County
Hon. Colin McRae	Mobile County
Hon. John Gill Shorter	Barbour County
Hon. Thomas Fearn	Madison County
Hon. Robert H. Smith	Mobile County
Hon. Richard W. Walker	Lauderdale County

The Alabama members to the Provisional Congress did not represent Congressional Districts. It was not until the First Congress met at Richmond, Virginia on February 18, 1862, that the Alabama delegation took their seats as representatives of a Congressional District. The Provisional Congress was unicameral (consisting of only one house) therefore there was no designation as membership in the State or House of Representatives.

*CONFEDERATE STATE SENATORS FROM ALABAMA**First Session*

Hon. Clement C. Clay	Madison County
Hon. William L. Yancey	Montgomery County

Second Session

Hon. Robert Jemison	Tuscaloosa County
Hon. Richard W. Walker	Lauderdale County

FIRST CONGRESS

1st Hon. Thomas J. Foster	Lawrence County
2nd Hon. William R. Smith	Tuscaloosa County
3rd Hon. John P. Ralls	Cherokee County
4th Hon. Jabez L. M. Curry	Talladega County
5th Hon. Francis S. Lyon	Marengo County
6th Hon. William P. Chilton	Montgomery County
7th Hon. David Clopton	Macon County
8th Hon. James L. Pugh	Barbour County
9th Hon. Edward S. Dargan	Mobile County

SECOND CONGRESS

1st Hon. Thomas J. Foster	Lawrence County
2nd Hon. William R. Smith	Tuscaloosa County
3rd Hon. Williamson R. Cobb*	Jackson County
4th Hon. M. H. Cruikshank	Talladega County
5th Hon. Francis S. Lyon	Marengo County
6th Hon. William P. Chilton	Montgomery County
7th Hon. David Clopton	Macon County
8th Hon. James L. Pugh	Barbour County
9th Hon. J. S. Dickinson	Clarke County

*Did not take seat.

No. 34]

AN ORDINANCE

To lay off the State of Alabama into nine Congressional Districts.

SEC. 1. *Be it ordained by the people of Alabama in Convention assembled*, That for the election of representatives in Congress of the Confederate States of America, this State is divided into nine Congressional Districts, as follows: The first District is composed of the counties of Lauderdale, Franklin, Lawrence, Limestone, Madison, and Morgan; the second District of Marion, Winston, Blount, Jefferson, Walker, Tusca-

loosa, and Fayette; the third District of the counties of Jackson, Marshall, DeKalb, Cherokee, and St. Clair; the fourth District of the counties of Calhoun, Randolph, Talladega, and Shelby; the fifth district of the counties of Bibb, Perry, Marengo, Greene, Pickens, Sumter, and Choctaw; the sixth District of the counties of Dallas, Autauga, Coosa, Lowndes, Butler, and Montgomery; the seventh District of the counties of Tallapoosa, Chambers, Russell, and Macon; the eighth District of the counties of Barbour, Henry, Dale, Coffee, Pike, and Covington; the ninth District of the counties of Conecuh, Monroe, Wilcox, Clarke, Washington, Mobile, and Baldwin.

SEC. 2. *Be it further ordained*, That the sheriffs of the counties of Lawrence, Walker, Marshall, Talladega, Greene, Lowndes, Macon, Dale and Monroe, are the returning officers of their respective Congressional Districts, and the sheriffs of the other counties in their district must make returns to the returning officers above mentioned as now prescribed by law.

SEC. 3. *Be it further ordained*, That the ordinance be, and the same shall remain, in full force until otherwise provided by the General Assembly of the State of Alabama.

Adopted, March 18, 1861.

“Ornidances and Constitution of the State of Alabama with the Constitution of the Provisional Government,” page 45-46.



PROSPECTUS

OF THE

Montgomery Military Academy,

INCORPORATED JULY 6, 1860,

WITH

CATALOGUE OF PUPILS, &C.,

For the Scholastic Year 1861-62.

RICHARD FORD, A. M., SUPERINTENDENT.

MONTGOMERY :
MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER BOOK AND JOB PRINTING OFFICE.

1862.

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REV. DR. THORNWELL.

REV. P. J. SHAND.

To the Faculty of South Carolina College, or to the parents
and friends of the pupils.

CORPS OF INSTRUCTORS:

RICHARD FORD, A. M., SUPERINTENDENT,
And Professor of Ancient Languages and Literature.

LIEUT. R. O. SAMS, (Citadel Academy, Charleston, S. C.)
Professor of Mathematics, Civil and Military Engineering, and
Drill.

LIEUT. O. M. ROBERTS, (Citadel Academy, Charleston, S. C.)
Superintendent of Junior Department and Drill.

MONTGOMERY MILITARY ACADEMY.

3

COURSE OF INSTRUCTION.

The Course of Instruction embraces the Greek and Latin Classics, Mathematics, and the various branches of a thorough English education, together with a full course of Civil and Military Engineering. Students will be fully prepared for the advanced classes in College, or for Mercantile life, as their friends may desire.

The general government of the Academy, with the department of Ancient Languages, will be in charge of Professor Ford, formerly of South Carolina, and late President of Transylvania University.

The Military, Mathematical and Scientific Departments will be under the immediate charge of Graduates of the State Military Schools of South Carolina, and the discipline of the Academy will be the same pursued in those schools.

Monthly reports of the progress and conduct of every student will be forwarded to the parent or guardian.

The Academy will consist of two principal departments:—in the Junior of which pupils of any age will be admitted; in the Senior, those only who have commenced the study of the Ancient Languages or Algebra. The latter will constitute the Cadet Corps.

TERMS:

In the Senior Department.....\$80 00

In the Junior Department..... 65 00

Payable in advance—one-half on entrance, and the remainder on the 15th of February.

No pupil admitted for less than a Session, except by special agreement.

MONTGOMERY MILITARY ACADEMY.

5

MEDALS

Awarded for Scholarship and Good Conduct.

CADET CORPS.

Finley, James F.,.....	Gold Medal,
*Hubbard, William H.,.....	"
*Finley, William M.,.....	Silver Medal,
Hannon, Charles F.,.....	"

STUDENTS MERITORIOUS.

Hubbard, C. R., Gregory, F. C., Marks, N., Thorington, J., Hooper, W. E., Allen, J. V., Thorington, W. S., Pollard, J. S., *Smith, L. C., *Herron, H. D., *Walker, J. N., *Hannon, W. W., Anderson, N. J., Fowler, G. E., Gilmer, F., Lacy, F. H., Powell M.

JUNIOR DEPARTMENT.

Williams, Richard S.,.....	Gold Medal.
Baldwin, Augustus,.....	Silver Medal.
Cameron, William J.,.....	"
Hutcheson, John B.,.....	"

STUDENTS MERITORIOUS.

Calloway, W. R., Crenshaw, J. H., Halfmann, D., Hubbard, L., Joseph, E. B., Joseph, W. F., Noble, A., Powell, B. T., Roberts, H. H., Taylor, E., Teate, I., Teate, G., Teate, B., Whatley, S., Williams, C. A., Westcott, J. P.

*These pupils were in the same class, and it was not without great difficulty that their respective standing could be decided. All are deserving of especial commendation.

Address to the Patrons of the Academy.

THE PRINCIPAL, believing that the experience of the past affords the best guarantee for the future, will indulge in no lengthy address to his friends or the public. Having labored in his present vocation for nineteen years, he can point to the success which has attended his efforts, and more especially to the stand which such of his pupils as have entered various Colleges have taken, as the best test of the soundness of those principles upon which he has conducted his School. Of the progress and improvement of his scholars generally, their parents and friends are the best judges. To them, therefore, he appeals, and to them he with confidence refers all who may be desirous of enquiring, as to his character and qualifications for the responsible office which he holds.

MONTGOMERY MILITARY ACADEMY.

7

JUNIOR DEPARTMENT.

hley, Preston,
ittan, Grattan,
lloway, Willis R.,
meron, William J.,
enshaw, James H.,
lmer, Fleming M.,
alfmann, Donald,
ubbard, Lewis,
unter, Edmund H.,
utcheson, John B.,
seph, Edwin B.,
seph, William F.,
nn, Edward W.,
oble, Arthur,

Noble, Clifford,
Pickett, Alston J.,
Pickett, Albert H.,
Powell, Benjamin F.,
Roberts, Harvey H.,
Shorter, Reuben,
Taylor, Elmore,
Teate, George,
Teate, Benjamin,
Westcott, John P.,
Westcott, David B.,
Whatley, Stewart,
Williams, Charles A.,
Williams, Edward C.

CADET CORPS.

Allen, Joseph V.,	Lacy, Frank A.,
Anderson, William I.,	Ledyard, William F.,
Baldwin, William O.,	Linn, Charles W.,
Barnett, Joel,	McGehee, William,
Bethea, Andrew I.,	Marks, Nicholas,
Bethea, Theodore B.,	Maxwell, Simeon,
Bibb, John D.,	Pierce, James A.,
Brevard, Robert,	Pollard, John S.,
Campbell, David H.,	Ponder, John S.,
Cantelon, John,	Powell, Marcellus,
Clarke, Thomas D.,	Relfe, Montgomery,
Coxe, Jessie J.,	Roberts, Israel,
Ector, Wylie B.,	Smith, Lester C.,
Farley, James H.,	Staples, John,
Finley, James F.,	Stokes, Andrew J.,
Finley, William H.,	Taylor, Samuel H.,
Fowler, George E.,	Taylor, Albert J.,
Gales, Matthew,	Teato, John,
Gilmer, Frank,	Thorington, Jack,
Gilmer, Peachy R.,	Thorington, Robert D.,
Gilmer, William,	Thorington, William S.,
Graham, Duncan W.,	Walker, John N.,
Gregory, Frederick C.,	Ware, William R.,
Hales, George P.,	Watts, John W.,
Hannen, Charles F.,	Westcott, Samuel T.,
Hannon, William W.,	Whiting, William B.,
Herron, Henry D.,	Wilkinson, Hamilton H.,
Hooper, William E.,	Williams, George M.,
Hubbard, Charles R.,	Williams, Irving,
Hubbard, William H.,	Williams, Richard S.,
Joseph, Thomas,	Yancey, Goodloe H.
Knox, Robert H.,	

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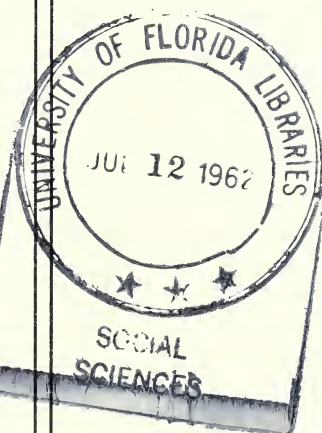
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THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

PETER A. BRANNON, *Editor*



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THE ALABAMA DEPARTMENT OF
ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Some references to the origin and first years of the Department
By Peter A. Brannon*

The Alabama Department of Archives and History was established by an Act of the Legislature approved February 27, 1901.

Administrative Circular No. 10 of the *Alabama Historical Society*, dated February 8, 1900, is:

Message of
Governor William J. Samford,
Urging the importance of the establishment of
a Department of Archives and History

To the Friends of Historical Work in Alabama:

The recommendations of the Alabama History Commission have been so favorably considered by his excellency, Governor William J. Samford, that he has transmitted its *Report* to both the Senate and House of Representatives, with a message as set out below, emphasizing the importance of the establishment of a "Department of Archives and History."

Bills to carry out the proposed plan are now before both Houses, and there appears to be no doubt of its success. However, I am very anxious that the matter should be brought directly to the attention of the General Assembly, and I urge you to write your Senator and representatives and to such others as you may know to give the measure their hearty support.

If you will help the cause, write at once as the bill will come to a vote in a few days.
February 8, 1900.

Very respectfully,

THOMAS M. OWEN
Chairman Ala. Hist. Commission

* This paper as here published is for the most part a recasting of a paper presented on October 5, 1961 by the author to *The Thirteen*, a literary and philosophical society in Montgomery.

Governor's Message.

Chief Executive Department of Alabama,

Montgomery, Feb. 7, 1901.

To the General Assembly:

Under an act of the General Assembly of Alabama, approved December 10th, 1898, the Alabama Historical Society appointed a commission consisting of Thomas M. Owen, Peter J. Hamilton, Wm. S. Wyman, Sam'l. W. John and Chas. C. Thach, who were charged with the duty "To make a full, detailed and exhaustive examination of all the sources and materials, manuscript, documentary and record, of the history of Alabama from the earliest times," etc., and "shall embody the result of such examination in a detailed report to the Governor of Alabama, prior to the next ensuing session of the General Assembly, with an account of the then condition of historical work in the State and with such recommendations as may be desirable."

Upon receipt of said report, it is made the duty of the Governor to "Submit said report to the ensuing session of the General Assembly, with a plan for permanently fostering historical interest and the preservation of the records, archives and history of the State."

Owing to providential causes, that report has only recently come into my hands, and I embrace the earliest opportunity of transmitting it to you, a copy of said report marked Exhibit A, being herewith furnished you for your information.

The preservation for ready reference and information of all the facts of there early history and government, is an evidence of the intelligence, worth and culture of a people. This report discloses the fact that the early history of Alabama is rich in historical incident and historical lore. It acquaints us also with the fact that the early history of this State and much of its subsequent history, and much of its State records are in danger of being lost for the lack of intelligent and methodical attention. The postponement of that attention for a few years will likely cause the loss of valuable information, which when once lost can not be acquired again. I cite one instance of error in comparatively recent history. I was present when two gallant

Alabama officers were killed on the field of battle in the Civil War. Already in the statement of the history of that Alabama regiment, the names of these two heroes are not mentioned. Those officers are credited with men who resigned early in the strife. I might instance other inaccuracies, of my personal knowledge, and I doubt not many other men could do the same thing. So that we owe it to the memory of the dead, to the living, and to our State pride to secure while we can the true history of our State and place it in such permanent form as will insure its accuracy and preservation for ourselves and posterity.

Owing to the lateness of the hour, when the report came to me—finding me absorbed in duties incident to the session of the General Assembly—I can not present the details of a plan necessary to this important work. But—leaving the details to your judgement—I recommend that you pass an act establishing a Department of Archives and History, and that two or three rooms in the basement of the Capitol be set aside for the use of the department, and that the said department be “charged with the custody of the State Official Archives” and the collection of historical facts, records and antiquities of Alabama, and that a Director be appointed to supervise the work and take Charge of the department. To inaugurate and sustain such a department, a small annual or monthly appropriation will be necessary. In the present condition of the State’s finances, I recommend that you do not appropriate more than \$2,500 per annum. While this sum is insignificant to so worthy an enterprise, the sum can be increased by succeeding General Assemblies when the importance and value of the department have been demonstrated, as I feel sure they will be.

I ought not to leave this matter without calling your attention to the thorough and perfect execution of the duty imposed on the Committee of the Historical Society, who made this report, especially as it was with them a labor of love and patriotism, they having performed this great labor entirely without compensation. I doubt not you will agree with me that the State owes the Committee a debt of gratitude for this work.

WM. J. SAMFORD,

Governor.

Thomas M. Owen who had served as Chief Clerk in the office of the Division of Postoffice Inspectors in Washington from 1894 to 1897, was in Carrollton, in Pickens County, Alabama, practicing law for the time after 1897 until he began the agitation for the establishment of the History Commission. Governor Joseph F. Johnston while serving as Governor and likewise the elected President of the Alabama Historical Society appointed the Commission in accordance with the Legislative Act of December 10, 1898, and they elected Dr. Owen as the Chairman and directed him to proceed to make a survey. His report, made in accordance with that direction was published by the Alabama Historical Society in 1901 as Volume 1, of the *Report of the Alabama History Commission*. This report, popularly known as the "*blue book*" in the series of the Historical Society's Publications, is actually the survey of all public records in the custody of the State; of collections of Alabama Historical material in the custody of the State; of collections of Alabama historical material in Alabama and throughout the United States in institutions, private hands, libraries and other collections, and likewise it lists private collections of letters, correspondence, family diaries and divers things of that type. It also lists the published writings of many of Alabama's people, many lists of newspapers, portraits, minutes of societies, historical commission proceedings, records of pension offices, war records in private hands and many other things. This survey was the basis of what became through the instrumentality of that History Commission's efforts, the Bill which was introduced in the Alabama Legislature and from which became the Act which created the Alabama Department of Archives and History.*

The Board of Trustees of the Department as set up by the Act creating the Department provided a trustee from each Congressional District. Accordingly, the personnel of that Board was: 1st District, Peter J. Hamilton, Mobile; 2nd District, J. M. Falkner, Montgomery; 3rd District, Wm. Dorsey Jelks,

* There is a traditional story which has been current during my entire knowledge of the Alabama Department of Archives and History concerning the origin of the concept and it has two or three different versions but I well recall that Dr. Owen told me that seeing the original commission register of the State Government lying on the floor of the Secretary of State's office and used as a door stop made him determine all the more to save the State records. This version is not that held by some other members of the staff in the years gone by but my presentation is not intended to be controversial.

Eufaula; 4th District, J. H. Johnson, Talladega; 5th District, Dr. W. H. Blake, Wetumpka; 6th District, Henry B. Foster, Tuscaloosa; 7th District, Oliver D. Street, Guntersville; 8th District, Wm. Richardson; 9th District, Samuel Will John, Birmingham.

Dr. Colyer Meriwether, Secretary, Southern Historical Association, in 1909, said in his *History of the Literary and Intellectual Life of the South*:

"But once more does the South illustrate the general tendency in the country. It was found that this culture was too elevated for the average run, and that the fees from a restricted but appreciative class came too slowly to justify much publishing. Indirectly, all, in time, got some of the benefits of the wider diffusion of historical knowledge, and it was urged that all should contribute to the cost. Taking the cue from their brethern of the West, the voluntary state organizations in the South commenced to appeal to the commonwealth to carry the burden. The pioneer in this new path was Thomas M. Owen, of Alabama, who has merited unstinted praise. He had been one of the three organizers of the Southern History Association in Washington, D. C., had revived the Alabama Historical Society and had been a vigorous worker in other ways. Fortunately, he had held public office and knew how to appeal to politicians and the public. He drafted measures, secured their adoption by the state legislature, and obtained appropriations for advancing the cause. His efforts have resulted in the creation of a state department of history at Montgomery, devoted to collecting and publishing, but with most strength on the former. The museum of relics and manuscripts is rapidly growing, following one of the finest examples in the country, that one in Madison, Wis. Mississippi soon copied the Alabama model with some happy modifications; later South Carolina and West Virginia took the same cue . . ."

A statement which appeared in *The South in the Building of the Nation*, in 1909, was: "Through Mr. Owen's active and constructive leadership the Alabama State Department of Archives and History was established by legislative act of Feb. 27, 1901,

* *The South in the Building of the Nation*, vol. 7, pp. 514-515. (1909). Vol. 7 is titled *History of the Literary and Intellectual Life of the South*, chapter title *Southern Historical Societies*, contributed by Colyer Meriwether, Secy., Sou. Hist. Assn.

charged with the care of the official archives (public records) and the promotion of all the historical activities demanded on the part of the State. This step was the first known recognition and application of the principle of public support of archive preservation, and history work and enterprise through a separate bureau, commission or department of state, located in the capitol and administered by a state official regularly chosen and required to devote his entire time to his duties. This plan is altogether the creation of Dr. Owen, and it is his unique good fortune to be both the pioneer, maker and perfecter of a great institutional advance in American government and political science. This plan has been adopted by several states and efforts for the enactment of similar legislation have been made in other states.”*

R. D. W. Conor, at the dedication of the Alabama Memorial Building in 1940, said:

“Though Dr. Owen had never seen me before and must have considered me a nuisance he greeted me with all the kindness of an older brother. I found him installed in his cramped quarters in the capitol, literally lost to view behind great mountains of disorderly masses of documents, which had been piling up on him so rapidly and in such volume as would have discouraged a less determined man. As you can well imagine, there was little I could learn from this situation about archival organization, arrangement, classification, or cataloguing nor did I have the slightest comprehension of what he was talking about when he discussed the principle of provenance, respect *pour les fonds*, and other archival mysteries. Nevertheless, my visit to him was one of the most profitable experiences of my life. It was not what he had done, nor what he said that dwells with me today; it was what he was. He was energy, he was enthusiasm, he was courage, he was vision, he was faith, he was inspiration, and when I reluctantly bade him good-bye I knew in my heart that some day he would build here in Montgomery one of the great archival institutions of our country. I count it a rare privilege, indeed, to be able to come back to Montgomery after thirty-three years to

* Vol. 12, p. 244.

witness the realization of his dreams as we see them here today.*

In 1903, while I lived in Columbus, Ga. I was visited by Mr. Owen who was doing his first field work in his organization efforts for the Department. He knew of the existence of the Peter A. Greene collection of historical materials at Seale. Some time before his visit Mr. Greene had died. The administration of his property had been turned over to me. In the Greene collection were a number of manuscripts, a great many Indian relics, a number of pistols, swords, guns and other miscellaneous things and Mr. Owen was interested in securing these for the Department. He selected a number of items and they were turned over to him. These were manuscripts, a few books, some Confederate money, some old correspondence and miscellaneous things which were at the time thought to be of great value though had no relatively great value because they were so few of them. Mr. Owen spent the day in Columbus. I took much of the time from my work at a drug store there to entertain him. At that time he entered into the records of the Department of Archives and History Mr. Greene's account concerning the collection of them. I had many notes.

From that day until I came to Montgomery to live Dr. Owen and I corresponded spasmodically and he wrote me at times asking about collectors and locations of collections and he was particularly interested in Fort Mitchell, as I was, and my interest in the work of the Department of Archives and History from these small beginnings grew to a serious nature. From early 1907 when I worked here in Montgomery at Spann's drug store, up to my official connection with the Department on February 1, 1911, I worked with Mr. Owen in different programs and our relationship as research associates increased accordingly.

Prof. Henry S. Halbert, Dr. Owen and myself organized the Alabama Anthropological Society on May 13, 1909 at a meeting at No. 1 N. Jackson St., in Montgomery. Shortly after that time we organized the Confederate History Club, a second Camp of Sons of Confederate Veterans. Dr. Owen had commanded the Holtzclaw Camp. I was made the head of the Confederate History Club as we termed it although it was officially a Camp. Shortly after that Haygood P a t e r s o n and myself with Dr.

* The American Archivist, v. 4, p. 82-83, 1941.

Owen's encouragement, organized the Bartram Natural History Society and Mr. Paterson and myself were elected to membership in the American Philosophical Society on a non-resident basis on account of our interest in John and William Bartram. These activities were all in direct relationship to the Department of Archives and History and functioned the scientific and historical connections of the Department.

At that time, Prof. Halbert, born in Pickens County, Alabama, but who spent most of his life in Noxubee County, Miss. was living with Dr. Owen and was a clerk in the Department. This gentleman had been a teacher in Texas. He had served in the Texas Army in the Indian uprising of 1859 and 1860, had served as a member of a Texas Regiment in the War Between the States, before he came to the Department of Archives and History taught an Indian school near Philadelphia, Miss. for twenty years. I don't know the relationship but there was some connection with Dr. Owen's family and Dr. Owen was willing and rather anxious to have the old gentleman here because he had a reputation of being learned in the aboriginal life of the Gulf country. He was a nationally known Indianologist, an author and a linguist of more than ordinary ability. He read French with ease. He was a master of the Spanish language. He spoke Choctaw and he understood the Creek language quite well and he had been associated in the field of ethnological research over a long time. Prof. Halbert was a bachelor, he wore a wig, he was a strict Baptist, he taught the men's Sunday School class at the First Baptist Church in Montgomery and he lived an apparently robust healthy life up to 78 years of age when he developed TB and died within a few months.

The anteroom of the Senate Chamber served as the office of the Director of the Department for several years and the relics, files, papers, books and other things accumulated and expanded into the Senate and House Chambers until the construction of the South wing of the Capitol in 1906 and 1907. Had you dropped into these new quarters about that time you might have met many of the old school of writers of a half century ago. Walter Flemming, recently out of Auburn, who had studied under Dr. Petrie; Theodore Jack, newly out of the University, who had studied under Dr. Wyman; Dallas T. Herndon, lately Dr. Petrie's student at Auburn, and who was preparing himself then to take

over the Directorship of the History Commission of Arkansas; Dr. Eugene A. Smith, thought by many to have been the world's leading geologist of that day but actually an historian of the prehistory of Alabama, were among those who might have greeted you. The correspondence of that period included letters from Dr. Earl Swem of William and Mary, Dr. Clarence Brigham of the American Antiquarian Society; Dr. Spofford who had known Dr. Owen in Washington but who was then serving as an assistant in the Library of Congress, having given way to a younger man, Ed Hamner, of Etowah County, Ala., who had during his years in Washington City brought together the foremost collection of government books on the subject of American Indian was a voluminous writer. Allen D. Chandler, late Governor of Georgia who was compiling the military history of that State was in touch with us.

Among our other visitors prior to 1913 was George Grayson some time Congressional Delegate at Washington for the Indian Territory. Mr. Grayson was the great-grandson of George Grierson (and bord his name) t h a t old Scotchman who was the British Agent at Hillabee as early as 1761. I had the honor to meet the old man on his last stop here on his way to Washington. He did not repersent the State of Okalahoma after it was created in 1912.

In the early (1902 to 1915) correspondence files you may find literally thousands of letters from the U. S. War Department as General Marcus J. Wright and Gen. Ainsworth, the Adjutant General were both assiduously endeavoring to organize Confederate military records.

Associated with Dr. Owen in the work of the Department over a number of years before he died was John Witherson DuBose who was first regularly employed by the Department to prepare sketches of the military regiments which served from Alabama in the War Between the States. Col. DuBose was at the same time writing both for the *Advertiser* and the Birmingham papers. His c o m p e n s a t i o n for his contributions to the *Advertiser*, these appearing largely on Sunday, was \$2.00 each. These were altogether of a political nature.

And too was Rev. George E. Brewer, a Baptist minister who had served as the Captain of Co. A, 46th Ala. Infantry Regiment

in the C.S.A., and who commanded the 46th Regiment during most of the period of the War. Col. Michael Woods, being incapacitated and at home (during most of the time) in Montgomery. Capt. Brewer served as the Acting Adjutant General of the State of Alabama for two years following the War and until the Reconstruction Legislature of 1868 took over the State. During that time he put the records of some of the Confederate outfits in good condition. He made many annotations to these official lists and his contributions in that respect have been declared official military records in view of the fact that he had access to many notes which were not available later on. About 1912, Mr. Brewer came to the Department as a regular paid employee and wrote sketches of the military units and did other research work.

The archives of the Adjutant General's office were separated from the Governor's files during the administration of Governor Oates, the theory of the separation having been instituted in the last year of Governor Jones' administration and the organization of these archives was done by Mr. W. S. Ford. The Adjutant General's records included the Confederate military archives. Obviously, they included the militia records from 1818. They also included the War of 1836, the Texas War with Mexico, the Mexican War and about the time of the organization of the Department of Archives and History the Spanish-American War archives were taken over by the Adjutant General's office. They came directly from the Adjutant General's office to the Department. Since the creation of the Department all Adjutant General's archives have been administered by the Department of Archives and History and very little of the archival duties connected with the processing and administering of these military records was ever done by the Adjutant General's office.

Col. Wm. H. Fowler, of Tuscaloosa, an artillery officer in the Confederate Army was assigned by Acts of the Alabama Legislature, in 1863, to proceed to the front in Virginia and assemble the records of the several Alabama outfits and prepare historical Record Rolls. Col. Fowler did a great deal of work along that line and about 1870 the Alabama Legislature appropriated a sum of money to buy these records from the estate of Col. Fowler. There has been some question in the minds of students and lawyers in later years as to why these records from

Col. Fowler's estate had to be bought with a Legislative appropriation when Col. Fowler was an officer in the military forces of the State of Alabama. No answer can be made except to say that at the close of the War the assembled historical Record Rolls were in the hands of Col. Fowler, not having been returned to the State and by a construction of the after-the-War Legislatures they were private rather than State property, because the State had not gotten back into the American Union and was not an official unit. Col. Fowler went to Texas shortly after the War and had a difficulty which resulted in his death. The Legislature bought the records and they became the property of the State of Alabama and were in the hands of the Adjutant General's office until taken over by the Department of Archives and History. They are today the most valuable of all the State's military archives as they are physical evidence of the period of the Confederacy in our history.

The Department, of course, has the Governor's executive archives of the period of the Confederacy but most of that correspondence is the material that came into the Governor's office and there are no copies (except in a few cases) of the material that went *out* of the Governor's office.

Dr. Owen had the rare ability to utilize the efforts of a class of workers widely divergent in character. In addition to those previously mentioned clerical writers who made contributions to the files of the Department between 1908 and 1920, there were Miss Nimmo Greene, Miss Mary Burke and others.

Miss Toccoa Cozart made contributions to the work of the Department for some time as a paid employee and then later worked for Dr. Owen in the compilation of his history.

Miss Greene was the original Department Librarian and was one of the first of the library assistants to become interested in the extension service of the Department. She antedated Miss Tommie Dora Barker who came to the Department from the Public Library of Atlanta and she, Miss Barker, was succeeded by Miss Gertrude Ryan who came with the Department in 1911, about the end of the year. Miss Greene was a former teacher, was the author of two or three books and a warmly regarded

Montgomery adopted citizen. She was a relative of the family. Dr. Owen's secretary from the organization of the Department until along about 1918, was his sister, Miss Dolly W. Owen. After quite a few years Miss Dolly found a very companionable and gracious partner and was married and lived in Florida until long after Dr. Owen passed away.

The compensation of this array of talent, and I make that statement with utmost frankness, was distressingly modest. Prof. Henry S. Halbert's salary was \$25.00 a month and Col. DuBose and Mr. Brewer drew less salary. Miss Greene's salary as a Librarian was more in keeping with the standard remuneration of that period.

Rev. Peyton Bibb Saffold, (the grandson of that one of the Bibb brothers who in 1819 sought to change the current of the Alabama River and to make it flow accross the neck of that projecting peninsula formed by the curve of the river north of town, because he had some unhappy conflict with the people of Montgomery) was a "piece writer". Mr. Saffold was a retired Methodist Protestant preacher. He was a rather good story teller but a slow, tedious, methodical writer and while his efforts were honestly contributed they were not worth much because he never got very much in the files.

Mention is made of these extra workers to illustrate the cultural opportunities which the Department enjoyed through the contacts of these people in their peculiar activities. DuBose, as you will recall published *The Life and Times of William L. Yancey*, in 1892, and wrote political contributions of a wide overall character on to his death in 1918. Capt. Brewer had been a personal friend in his younger days of Byrd Young, the original of the folk story sharacter, *Simon Suggs*, and he enjoyed a wide reputation of a Baptist of the strick interpretation of the tenets of that faith.

Miss Tocca Cozart, a granddaughter of one of the early families of Montgomery, the McIntyres, was a teacher of known reputation both in Atlanta and here in Montgomery.

In 1907, Dr. Owen aided and abetted Mr. Dunbar Rowland in establishing the Mississippi Department of Archives and History patterned directly after the Alabama Department. The

Act creating the Mississippi Department was the verbatim text of the Alabama Act. Dr. Owen and Peter Hamilton, of Mobile, author of *Colonial Mobile*, (a great contribution to the story of the Gulf country), were collaborators in many efforts. With Dunbar Rowland, they promoted the copying of the Spanish and British West Florida Government records even before the Library of Congress (U.S.) had them. Col. Sam Will John, a typical barrister of the Old South type was not only a warm admirer of Dr. Owen but Col. John sought to aid him in his search into different problems. Col. J. M. Falkner, the attorney for the L. & N. Railroad, Governor Wm. D. Jelks, Dr. J. H. Johnson of the Alabama School for the Deaf at Talladega, Dr. Wm. H. Blake, some time connected with the Convict Bureau, and a practitioner of wide experience, and Oliver D. Street, a well known Republican politician, illustrate a cross section of diverse minds. Through that Board of Trustees of which the above were members he lost no opportunity to advance his desire in promoting the Department.

The warmest support of Dr. Owen received during his twenty years in the work was from his father-in-law, the Senior John H. Bankhead. While he was in Washington in the late 1890's he met many national workers in the field of history but much political influence in the promotion of this work came through Mr. Bankhead as Congressman and Senator.

Through his characteristic temperament, his position with the State government, and his ability to ingratiate himself into the life of Montgomery he was one of the group which organized the *Thirteen* in 1902. The other twelve men (and their successors) honored him and encouraged him for the next eighteen full years that he carried on, and his success in his ambition was influenced by this association.

While Mr. Owen lived in Washington, 1894 to 1897, he brought together the greatest collection of Government documents, in private hands ever assembled in America. These and many other rare books accumulated by him, he brought to Montgomery. In 1904, Mr. Owen and Professor John W. Abercrombie were during the meeting of the Board of Trustees of the University of Alabama, honored with the Degree of LL.D. In 1906, Dr. Owen established a new home on a lot now on East Felder Ave-

nue, then out of the city limits. A few months later, while both Mrs. Owen and he were in the city the home b u r n e d to the ground, destroying the great library and their every worldly possession, except the clothes worn by them.

Some time about the first of the year 1908, Dr. John Allen Wyeth of Alabama, who had long practiced in New York wrote a letter to the Montgomery Advertiser advocating the selection of John Witherspoon DuBose to write the history of Alabama. Dr. Wyeth had the Congressional delegation in Congress to sign the request with him (this list includes Senator Bankhead and Senator Johnston as well as the Congressional Delegation) and mentions a number of members of the Board of Trustees of the Department and people of that period interested in furthering the work of the Department. Nothing was done along that line until some time about 1914 when Dr. Owen began the collection of material and promoted the development of what later became Owen's *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, which volumes were brought out by Mrs. Owen after the Doctor's death.

Dr. Owen was ill during the last days of 1919 and during the winter suffered a severe attack of influenza. He recovered to some degree and began his vigorous activities in preparation of his manuscript in which he was assisted by Mr. Harry F. Thompson, Miss Taccoa Cozart and several other workers. On March 25, 1920, he attended the first meeting of the *Thirteen* for several weeks. Dr. Owen ate very heartily and discussed vigorously *The 18th Ammendment* which was the subject of the paper on that occasion. He left Mr. Cody's home, walked over to his residence on the corner of Adams Avenue and Decatur Street and while preparing to retire collapsed and died immediately of a heart attack. The next morning's Montgomery Advertiser carried a full width page notice of his death and devoted considerable attention to his attention to his accomplishments and spoke most glowingly of his efforts in behalf of the promotion of the Department of Archives and History.

An editorial at the time warmly congratulated him for his successful work in stimulating that "great institution", as they called it, the Alabama Memorial Commission which would soon provide the result of Dr. Owen's long cherished

hope that the Alabama Memorial Building would take over the great collections which he had brought together. Mrs. Owen who succeeded him as director used that forecast as the basis of her strenuous efforts to provide the Alabama Memorial building to realize the dream that her husband had twenty years prior to that time sought to consummate.

It is not relatively pertinent that the administration of Mrs. Owen as the Director from 1920 to 1955, nor me from time on be part of this story. Mrs. Owen was elected at a meeting shortly after his death and during her administration the activities of the Department grew and expanded and the efforts of Dr. Owen continued to be felt. Mrs. Owen was prone in her late life to credit much of her administration to Dr. Owen's efforts but this was largely through her sentimental loyalty to him and she should be credited with that furtherance of the work.

Over the period of sixty years since the Department was created has been a continued growing development and the main purposes, as conceived by Dr. Owen at the time he sponsored the creation, in 1901, have been realized.

GENERAL N. B. FORREST AS A RAILROAD BUILDET IN ALABAMA

By John C. Jay, Greensboro*

Now and then there comes upon the stage of life, a man who so differs from the rest that he catches the eye and ear at once, and as long as he moves in the scene, holds the attention of his fellows. On the 13th day of July, 1821, amid surroundings which told of poverty, in a remote backwoods settlement of middle Tennessee, there was born one of these rare beings, Nathan Bedford Forrest.

By great physical courage and indomitable will he overcame obstacles and transcended poverty. He had attained a position of influence, respect and success in business in Memphis at the beginning of the Civil War. He enlisted as a private soldier on June 14th, 1861. A man of his high character, probity and courage was not to remain in the ranks. During the process of war he attained the rank of General. He was fairly worshiped by his soldiers. One commander under whom he served adjudged him "the greatest soldier the war produced," and by another "the greatest soldier of his time."

He has grown in stature, through the years, until in our time his fundamental rule of victory, to "get there first with the most," has come to be accepted all over the world as the very antithesis of "too little, too late."

Immediately following the close of the war General Forrest gave his personal attention to his plantations, located on the Mississippi River near Memphis, in order that they might be made productive and put in such condition that they could be carried on successfully without his personal supervision. This left him free to pursue his ambitious undertaking of construct-

* The author of this paper has appended a bibliographical list though he advises that considerable of this material has been developed in the copies of the Greensboro newspaper of the period and even of the current newspaper publications as from time to time there have been many references to this effort at railroad building by General Forrest. Mr. Jay is a well known collector of memorabilia and he owns the Caboose Museum at Greensboro, an institution known throughout the country and which has been sponsored by many of the largest railroads in America.

ing a railroad from Selma, Alabama, to Memphis. His experience of several months in Alabama during the war caused him to realize the profitableness of a railroad through the rich cotton section of Central Alabama, connecting it with the markets in Memphis.

General Forrest returned to Alabama early in 1868 and purchased the controlling interest in the Cahaba, Marion and Greensboro Rail Road Company. This railroad originally ran from Marion to Cahaba. In 1855 the portion of the line between Marion Junction and Cahaba was dismantled and the rails sold to the Alabama & Mississippi Rivers Railroad Company. During the war the iron belonging to the Cahaba, Marion and Greensboro Rail Road Company, the length of which was about 13 miles, was impressed by the Confederate Government to be used in completing the Alabama & Mississippi Rivers Railroad between Selma and Meridian, Mississippi, which had been seized for military purposes.

During the latter part of 1868 there were numerous meetings held for the building of the proposed railroad from Selma to Memphis. These meetings were held in towns along the route the railroad was to follow. They were: Selma, Marion, Greensboro, Eutaw and Aliceville, Alabama; Columbus, Aberdeen, Okolona, Mississippi; and Memphis Tennessee.

On Decemeber 31, 1868, the Alabama Legislature passed an act "to amend and revise the general acts incorporating the Cahaba, Marion and Greensboro Railroad Company, and to change the name and style of said Company." After reciting the various acts incorporating the Cahaba, Marion and Greensboro Rail Road Company the act under consideration provided: Sec. 1. That the corporate name of the Cahaba, Marion & Greensboro Rail Road be changed to "The Selma, Marion & Memphis Railroad Company."

Immediately after the enactment of the Charter by the Legislature, the stockholders proceeded to the election of a president and nine directors as follows: General N. B. Forrest, President; Directors: J. T. Terry, Pickens County; Willie Coleman, of Greene; A. C. Jones, of Hale; J. H. Y. Webb, of Hale; Porter King, of Perry; C. C. Huckabee, of Perry; R. H. Lee,

of Perry; John Howze, of Perry; Henry A. Stollenwerck, of Dallas.

It was not until June 1, 1869, that actual construction got under way. On June 19, 1869, Captain Beall, one of the contractors of this road, said work was progressing rapidly. The contractors reported that they had 160 hands, with carts, mules, etc., employed on the section between Marion and Newbern, and in a few days would have about 60 more hands at work. The Company had established temporary work shops at Marion, and were busily engaged in constructing passenger cars, repairing locomotives, etc. General Forrest was energetically at work, and was determined that if the work flagged on the road it would not be his fault.

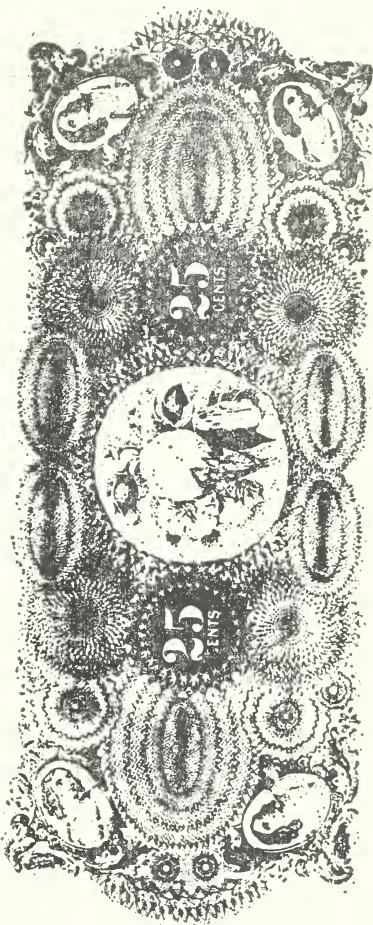
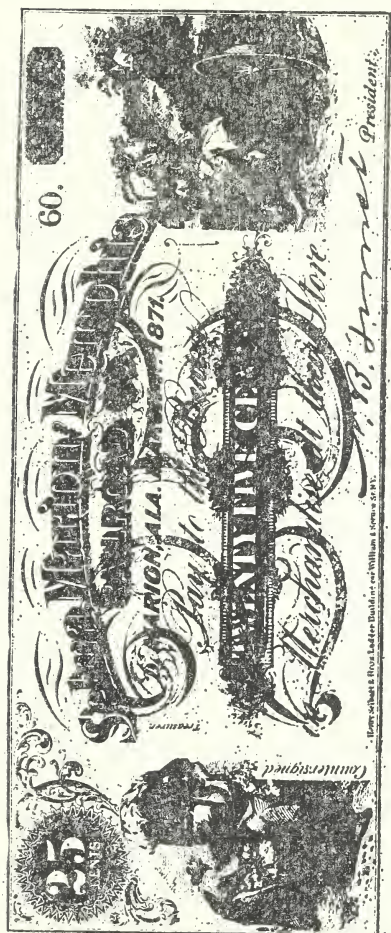
An election was held in the City of Greensboro, on June 28, 1869, to determine whether the voters were in favor of a \$15,000 town subscription to the railroad. The result was 166 for the subscription and one against. Then on July 13, 1869, a similar election was held for Hale County, Alabama, for a subscription of \$60,000, the result being 2260 for the subscription and 301 against.

By September 9, 1869, the track had been laid to Bougechitta Creek, two and three-fourths miles west of Marion.

It was announced on October 9, 1869, that under the favorable legislation of Alabama, the road got the endorsement of the company bonds by the State to the extent of \$16,000 per mile, and the same was made for each five miles of the road as it was completed. With this State aid, along with the subscriptions of stock of the counties through which the road would pass, the completion of the road was assured.

On November 19, 1869, the directors authorized the Chief Engineer, Colonel Merriwether, to contract with Colonel A. K. Shepherd, for the grading and ironing of the road from its present terminus, about eight miles west of Marion, to Eutaw, the work to be completed in 12 months.

General Forrest and Captain C. C. Huckabee, one of the directors of the road, were in Greensboro on Monday, December 20, 1869. General Forrest reported that the work was progressing vigorously under the new contractor, Colonel A. K.



Shepherd, and that he had 1500 tons of iron purchased and on the way, enough to complete the road to Greensboro. Captain Huckabee said that about 150 hands were at work on the road, between its western terminus and Newbern, and as many more expected in a few days.

On January 1, 1870, it was announced that the railroad had received for their road a splendid new engine which was named "Porter King," after Judge King of Perry County, and a member of the Board of Directors.

On January 3, 1870, the Commissioners Court of Hale County held a special term for the purpose of issuing the Selma, Marion & Memphis Railroad bonds, which had been authorized by the voters of the county. General Forrest was in attendance, with blank bonds that had been prepared and delivered to him by his attorney. Unfortunately, the same traits of character which made General Forrest a military genius also made him many enemies in his business connections, and apparently the Probate Judge, W. T. Blackford, was one of them as he was a radical or reconstruction judge. Judge Blackford refused to sign the bonds, in violation of the plain mandate of the law.

General Forrest, through his able lawyer, obtained a formal hearing before the Judge in an attempt to persuade him to sign the bonds. The lawyer argued well and long, perhaps too long, and he no doubt used too many Latin phrases which irked the Judge, who was not a lawyer himself. At the conclusion of the argument the Judge addressed the lawyer: "Sir, I don't give a damn about your *nunc pro tuncs*, your *volens* or your *amicus curis*. I am not going to sign them bonds."

The angry lawyer started toward the Judge, but the Judge was prepared to enforce his own orders, and quickly drew his sixshooter which held off the astonished advocate.

General Forrest, equal to the occasion, had his own idea of bringing swift and sure justice to the courts. He was a man of great physical strength, his hair was jet black, his skin dark, eyes blue and mild enough till the devil within was aroused, and then flashed green.

The General quickly disarmed the Judge, firmly collared him and quietly said: "Wal, Judge, I don't care a damn whether

FORM 2.

Samuel G. Harris *Given At - 30 1876*

TO SELMA, MARION & MEMPHIS R. R. CO.

For Transportation on the following articles of Freight.

Marks.	Description of Freight.	Weight.	Amount Due.
W. B. No. 194	1 Bx Cheese	80	48
Car No.	1 Sk Coffee	60	48
Date 10-28-76	1 Bx Canned Apples	48	48
From	1 " Smokies	30	25
Consignor <i>De</i>	Received Payment, <i>W. B. Harris</i>		<u>148</u>

1876
Oct 28
Harris
\$1.45
30.11. Oct 1876
J. H. A. Harris
O. B.

you sign them bonds nunc pro tunc, nolens volens or amicus curi; you are going to sign 'em. Come along with me."

The General led the Judge into an ante room where they had a private conference from which the Judge returned, took his bench and smilingly signed the bonds. It was never known just what took place during the conference.

General Forrest announced on Saturday, January 8, 1870, that 35 car loads of iron for the railroad had been received, and that he was expecting 25 additional car loads. Track laying was also begun from the western terminus to Newbern.

There came out from Selma the same day the committee appointed by the Legislature to examine the portion of the road that had been completed. A spokesman for the committee on the tour of inspection, to the western terminus of the road seven miles from Marion, said the road appeared to be well built, and he thought the committee was entirely satisfied with it.

On February. 3, 1870, it was announced that on and after Monday (the 7th), trains would be run to Prairie Station (Sundays excepted) connecting with stages for Greensboro, Tuscaloosa and Eutaw.

General F o r r e s t was in Greensboro the week of June 1, 1870, looking after the interests of his road. He expressed the confident opinion that the road would be completed to Greensboro by the first of September, at the latest. He also said that he would soon have at least 500 hands on this end of the line, which would cause the work to progress very rapidly. While in Greensboro, he was also engaged in looking for a suitable location for the depot. The place he preferred was near, or adjoining the southwestern corner of Mrs. Croom's lot, on land belonging to Dr. William A. Jones' children.

The first train to arrive in Newbern, was at 5:50 p.m., June 30, 1870. Awaiting the arrival of this train were all the citizens of Newbern and the surrounding territory, and a great number of people from Greensboro who had arrived on a line of splendid Troy-built stage coaches for the occasion. This was truly a great day for the people of this part of the state.

General Forrest made a flattering statement of the condition and prospects of the road on July 26, 1870. He had recently sold \$400,000 of the bonds in New York at 92½c. A large amount of iron had been purchased. One thousand tons had been delivered, and the remainder was on the way. The bridge over the Warrior River would be done in ample time.

On Saturday, August 6, 1870, it was reported that the grading for about half of the distance between Newbern and Greensboro had been finished and a mile of the track had been laid. The grading on the remaining distance was in a state of forwardness and was likely to be completed in a few weeks.

A small party, consisting of the members of the Commissioners' Court of Hale County, the county officers, and a few others from Greensboro and vicinity, made an excursion trip on the railroad on Monday, September 5, 1870, from the northwestern terminus to the Perry County line.

The object of this excursion was to furnish the members of Commissioners' Court ocular evidence that the first section of five miles of the road in Hale County had been finished. The Court, when submitting to the voters of the county General Forrest's proposition for Hale County to take \$60,000 of stock in the road, stipulated that the funds realized from the county bonds should be expended within the limits of the county. Twenty thousand dollars of these bonds were issued and turned over to General Forrest, and the Commissioners had evidence of the fact that the money realized from their sale had been expended in the county.

General Forrest had received reports and had been led to believe that one of his contractors had not complied satisfactorily with the requirements of his work. This contractor, an honorable and courageous man, was Colonel A. K. Shepherd. When they met, without waiting for any explanation, General Forrest, who at the time happened to be in a bad humor, spoke abusively to his employee. This gentleman, stung by the injustice of the attack upon him, resented it so bitterly that he challenged the General to mortal combat. In the heat and violence of the moment General Forrest accepted the challenge, selecting his favorite weapon, "navy sixes," at a distance of ten paces, to fire at the word, and advance and continue firing

until one or the other was killed. The details of this affair were given by Colonel Charles E. Waller, a reliable citizen of Greensborough Ala., who was a contractor on the road at the same time and was well acquainted with both parties to the quarrel. While a great admirer of General Forrest, and still devoted to his memory, Colonel Waller said that the General was exceedingly overbearing and unnecessarily severe in his denunciation of Colonel. Shepherd. The duel was to take place at sunrise the next morning. General Forrest spent the night with Colonel Waller, occupying the same room with him. "I noticed that General Forrest was restless throughout the night, for with the knowledge of the impending duel I was unable to sleep. About daylight, I looked across the room and saw the General sitting upon the side of his bed, and inquired of him why he was restless. He replied: 'I haven't slept for thinking about the trouble with Shepherd. I feel sure I can kill him, and if I do I will never forgive myself. I am convinced that he was right in resenting the way I talked to him. I am in the wrong, and do not feel satisfied about it.'" Colonel Waller replied: "General Forrest your courage has never been questioned. I have no reputation of being a brave man, but under the circumstances I should feel it to be my duty to apologize to Colonel Shepherd and openly tell him that I was wrong." The General said: "You are right, I will do it." They immediately got up, dressed themselves, and Colonel Waller and General Forrest went directly to Colonel Shepherd's quarters where they found him surrounded by a group of friends. General Forest walked directly to him, offered his hand, and said: "Colonel, I am in the wrong in this affair and I have come to say so." Colonel Shepherd expressed himself as being very glad that General Forrest had taken this view of it, and with this the matter ended.

The home in which General Forrest spent the night on this momentous occasion still stands in Greensboro.

On Thursday, November 3, 1870, the last rail was laid, and the last spike driven, in completion of the railroad to the Greensboro depot. On Friday, November 4, 1870, passenger and freight trains commenced running to the depot. This was truly a momentous day for Greensboro and the surrounding territory.

At the beginning, the Selma, Marion & Memphis Railroad

Selma, Marion & Memphis Railroad

CHANGE OF SCHEDULE.

ON and after January 1st, the trains on this Road will run as follows:

Mail train leaves Marion Junction daily, (except Sundays) after the arrival of accommodation train from Selma, at 4:10 P. M., arrives at Greensboro at 7:30 P. M., connecting with Stages for Eutaw, on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and for Tuskaloosa on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays.

Mail train leaves Greensboro daily, (except Sundays) at 5:15 A. M., arriving at Marion Junction at 8:30 A. M., making close connection with Selma & Meridian Road, arriving at Selma at 9:45 A. M., making close connection with Selma, Rome & Dalton Road for Dalton, and Western Road for Montgomery.

Freight trains will be run three times a week, leaving Greensboro on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and Marion Junction on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays.

J. P. FRESNIUS,

Chief Eng'r & Gen'l Supt.

December 21, 1870

52-8 1/2 in. x 11

was laid with ties and rails on top of the ground, and in wet weather accidents were frequent because of the tracks slipping from the weight of the trains on the slick prairie and clay lands upon which the track was laid. The bridges and trestles were not built too well, and they were not protected from the ravages of wet weather. Quoted here are a few of the accidents: On Wednesday, October 11, 1871, about two miles out of Marion Junction, the engine ran off the track and turned over, getting badly smashed up, and drawing the tender with it. The engineer and fireman were scalded though not badly. No one else was hurt. On December 20, 1872, the engine ran off the track near Newbern. The accident was caused by a portion of the track being undermined near Whitsett's creek. The damage was not perceptible until the roadbed gave way from the weight of the train. The fireman, a colored man named George Evans, was killed; the engineer, Mr. George King of Marion, had both legs broken and died two days later. The brakeman, name unknown, died after suffering two or three days. Thursday, morning April 23, 1874, as the train was coming from Sawyerville, and when within a mile of Greensboro, while crossing a trestle, the foundations of which had been washed away by the rain, the engine, tender, and mail coach were precipitated some 30 feet, wounding, thought not dangerously, the engineer, the mail agent, and a brakeman.

On Saturday morning, June 3, 1871, at an early hour, the children, young ladies and gentlemen of Greensboro, belonging to the several Sunday Schools, accompanied by their teachers repaired to the depot, where they found a train of cars ready to convey them to the grounds selected for their picnic. Their destination was eight miles west of Greensboro at "Umbria," the home of the late Colonel Samuel Pickens, who was the first comptroller of public accounts for the State of Alabama. In a short time the party was safely landed, and the bright faces of the children predicted a happy day, which they most assuredly had. It was a wonderful day, because these children had never ridden on a train before. It was a trip and outing that they never forgot. Just to hear the whistle blow and the bell ring was really a joy and thrill that lingered through their lives.

A resolution was adopted, thanking General Forrest for his kindness and liberality in furnishing the train free of charge,

and Mr. W. R. Wyatt, assistant superintendent of the road who was in charge of the train and who put himself to no little trouble to make the trip a pleasant one and for the many favors shown.

On Saturday, August 17, 1872, Messrs. Rucker & Company, who were leasees of the male convicts of the Alabama Penitentiary, had them all at work between Eutaw and the Warrior River. Messrs. Pledge & Company had also resumed work on the Warrior River Bridge. Prospects were very bright for the road at that time, and all things were working well.

On Friday, August 16, 1872, it was announced from the office of General E. W. Rucker, assistant superintendent of the railroad, that on and after this date the mail train would run to Sawyerville daily, where C. C. McLemore's splendid line of stage coaches would connect, taking passengers through to Eutaw, Ala., the same day without detention.

On Saturday, December 14, 1872, it was reported that General Rucker, assistant superintendent of the railroad, had brought the convicts in Greene County to the Hale County side of the Warrior River to finish a little grading between the present terminus and the river, when he would recross the river and push on to Eutaw. It was understood the heavy work on the Warrior Bridge would be completed within six or eight weeks, the weather permitting.

Judge James M. Hobson and Mayor L. J. Lawson left Greensboro on Tuesday, March 4, 1873 to attend the annual meeting of the stockholders of the railroad, the former representing the county stock and the latter that held by the town of Greensboro.

Judge Hobson and Mayor Lawson returned to Greensboro from the stockholders' meeting in Memphis on Saturday night, March 8, 1873. Judge Hobson stated as to the action of the meeting: General Forrest was reelected president; Mr. Samuel Tate, vice-president; H. D. Bukley, treasurer; J. P. Fresenius chief engineer.

General Forrest reported that the financial condition of the road was anything but encouraging. He stated that unless money could be realized on bonds, or in some other way, work on the

road would have to be stopped. Capitalists appeared to be indisposed to invest in Southern Railroad securities.

On July 26, 1873, there was a special meeting of the Board of Directors. The directors found the road to be in better condition than expected and were quite confident of succeeding in this much needed enterprise. In addition to other business attended to, the Board passed the following resolution, which was offered by Colonel B. M. Woolsey, one of the directors from Selma, Ala.: Resolved: That we have implicit confidence in the ability, energy, and capacity of General Forrest, president, and feel that if he receives the earnest support of the friends of the enterprise, and the people on the line of the road, that he will carry it to a successful completion.

Generals Forrest and Rucker and Captain J. P. Fresenius, spent several days in Greensboro the week of August 2, 1873, looking after the interest of the road. General Forrest was very hopeful as to the condition of affairs, and said that the road was in a healthier condition than it ever had been, because of having reduced the floating debt, within the past three weeks, \$200,000.

On Friday, September 5, 1873, he left for New York to endeavor to effect negotiations that would secure the early construction of his road from Sawyerville to Eutaw. He returned on September 13 and reported that it was impossible to negotiate for money to build his or any other road. He was present during the money panic on Wall Street and said that nothing in his military or civil career equalled it. The demoralization was complete. The General also said that if the people wanted his road finished as it should be, they would have to do the work themselves.

An important railroad arrangement went into effect on September 5, 1873, by which the Selma, Marion & Memphis Railroad Company effected a lease of the right of way over the Alabama Central Railroad for their trains from Marion Junction to Selma. Passenger and freight trains immediately began running from Greensboro to Selma, without hindrance or delay. This enabled the road to make reductions in freight and passenger rates, which was a decided benefit to the people along the line of the road.

General Forrest, who had been president of the Selma, Marion & Memphis Railroad Company since its organization, resigned that position the first of April 1874. The Holly Springs, Mississippi, Reporter had the following to say on Saturday, May 2, 1874: "General Forrest in resigning the presidency of the railroad, to relieve the company of any embarrassment it might suffer from his connection with the management, is greatly commended by his friends and accepted by the public generally as an act of Self-sacrificing patriotism."

It was announced on May 8, 1874, that the railroad had annulled the contract for the right of way over the track of the Alabama Central Railroad, from Marion Junction to Selma, Ala. which was entered into on September 5, 1873. It was also announced that trains would leave Greensboro on Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays at 7:30 a.m., returning the same days at 7:23 p.m. from Marion Junction.

On Tuesday, May 26, 1874, Colonel B. M. Woolsey of Selma, a director, and Colonel A. J. White of Memphis, Tenn., the newly elected president of the railroad, were in Greensboro looking after the interest of the road. They reported that Captain W. M. Forrest, the superintendent of the road had tendered his designation, and that General E. W. Rucker, assistant superintendent, who was a railroad man of no little experience, had been appointed to fill the vacancy.

On October 3, 1874, it was reported from an interview with Colonel A. J. White, president that he gave no immediate encouragement as to the resumption of the work on the road. He had no hopes of it, and would tender and insist upon his resignation at the next meeting of the Board of Directors. The floating debt of the company was large, and the condition of the company's affairs at that time was embarrassing in the extreme, so much so that Colonel White had no idea of its success.

Even with all the financial embarrassment of the company, it was reported on December 12, 1874, that General E. W. Rucker, the efficient superintendent, was building a line of telegraph along the line of his road from Greensboro to Marion, where it would connect with the Western Union Line.

At a meeting of the stockholders, held in Memphis, Tenn., on

December 9, 1874, Honorable Porter King was elected president; General E. W. Rucker, superintendent; and Major A. M. Fowlkes, treasurer of the Alabama division of said road. All of these men were from Marion, Ala.

On Saturday, February 20, 1875, it was announced that Major A. M. Fowlkes had been appointed receiver of the Selma-Marion & Memphis Railroad Company by Mr. Pack, Register in Chancery of Perry County, and had taken possession of the road. He excuted a bond of \$10,000 with Messrs. E. T. Fowlkes, H. A. Stollenwerck, S. A. Fowlkes, and A. G. Stollenwerck as sureties.

On Saturday, August 25, 1877, it was reported that General Forrest, whose health had been poor for some time past, was at Bailey Springs in North Alabama. Six weeks before his death, he came back from the Springs a mere shadow to be taken to his residence on President Island, near Memphis. There he remained until Sunday, October 28, when his condition became so hopeless that he was brought back to the home of his only surviving brother, Jesse, in Memphis. During that day and the next he recognized a few old friends and roused up to speak to Jefferson Davis, when the ex-president of the Confederacy came to his bedside. General Forrest died at half past seven o'clock in the evening of October 29, 1877, in the 56th year of his age.

On Wednesday, the last day of October, 1877, they buried him in accordance with arrangements made by his Confederate comrades in arms at a memorial meeting held the afternoon before. The funeral procession moved from the home of Jesse Forrest to the church on Court Square, and on South to Elmwood Cemetery, a line of march of three miles, lined by 20,000 people, white and black.

On November 7, 1878, the sale of the Selma, Marion & Memphis Railroad was confirmed. The purchasers were: Alexander W. Jones, E. W. Rucker, Edward K. Carlisle, Jno. W. Crenshaw, Lucy A. Crenshaw, William M. Brooks and William T. Crenshaw, the price being \$75,000, \$10,000 cash.

On the same day of the sale, the said purchasers of the road made and executed an agreement in writing and thereby con-

stituted themselves into a body corporate and politic under the name and style of the Selma and Greensboro Railroad Company.

Thus with the foregoing edict, the end came to the Selma, Marion and Memphis Railroad, that the "Wizard of the Saddle," General Nathan Bedford Forrest of Civil War fame built in Alabama.

It is my fervent hope that a marker commemorating General Nathan Bedford Forrest in the building of the Selma, Marion & Memphis Tailroad will soon be appropriately placed and dedicated to his memory in Greensboro.

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AN ALABAMA LITERARY MOVEMENT

A History and a Tribute

By Frances Durham*

Through the very kind cooperation of Dr. Peter A. Brannon, Director Department of Archives and History, State of Alabama, the records of the Alabama Pen women have at last found a home. It may be timely to review here the history of this 45-year old literary movement, which is dotted with so many well-known names, that it seems a galaxy of stars. Alabama Pen Women have reason to be grateful to Dr. Brannon, and before that to the Mobile Public Library, particularly Mrs. Emma C. Harris, custodian of the Southern History Collection, for preserving their records.

Mr. Joe Templeton, Director of the Mobile Public Library, advised Miss Vivian Jelks, State President of the Pen Women, early in 1961, that urgent need for space would require removal of the Pen Women collection, along with other materials for which the library no longer had house room.

Miss Jelks agreed, as State President, to take temporary custody of the Pen Women archives, until it could be determined what to do with them. She appointed a committee for surviving members of the original group, to decide as to the best disposition of the materials. This committee decided to offer the collection to the State Department of Archives and History for permanent safekeeping. Basis for this decision was: The Department of Archives and History could give a permanent home to the Collection; the organization was and is state-wide, hence it is logical for its records to be housed in a state department at Montgomery; the Department has modern equipment and a trained staff through which the records may be made available to the public in general and to researchers in particular.

* Frances Durham (Mrs. Ruffin of Fairhope, Alabama, has held state and national office in the Pen Women. Her career in journalism and public relations has been punctuated with short stories, articles, and fugitive verse, notably *Dungi Speaks*, a narrative poem in which the central figure is an astronomer, imagined as the first to discover the Star of Bethlehem. The documentary above is based on Pen Women records which have been presented to the Department of Archives and History.

Dr. Brannon's response to this offer was prompt and cordial. The documents have been formally transmitted to Dr. Brannon, and it is hoped many persons will find them interesting and helpful. While the Pen Women Collection is not voluminous, it contains items of a cultural nature, some of them irreplaceable. The minute books, scrap books, and reports were meticulously kept and trace the history of the Alabama Pen Women, the achievements of individual members, and the numerous community-related projects which engaged their attention. The records cover almost half a century, beginning with the first seven years when it was a state organization only, down to the present when there are also four local branches in the state: Mobile, Selma-Montgomery, Birmingham, and South Alabama.

In 1916, Rosa Meyers Mumma (Mrs. Ellis Lewis), a resident of Robertsedale, Alabama, had followed her banker husband from Pittsburgh to Baldwin County, where considerable expansion was going on. Her home was unique, a center of culture and beauty, set down in the midst of pine woods and she was an ardent Pen Woman. Mrs. Mumma had been appointed State Representative for Alabama by Miss Jessie Amelia Griswold, national president, with a directive to organize a group in Alabama. Headquarters of the League, then as now, was in Washington, D. C. For purposes of clarification, it should be noted that during the first seven years the ranking state officer was called "State Representative"; later, for five years, she was known as State Vice-President. There was so much confusion—someone would invariably ask: "Who is State President?"—that National changed the title to State President.

Mrs. Mumma interested a number of women artists, musicians and writers—workers in the pen arts—who were eligible in the sense that they received pay for their productions. She called them into a meeting, December 12, 1916, in the Cawthon Hotel, Mobile. An organization was effected. The first officers elected were: Narcissa Tayloe Shawhan (Mrs. Charles), President; Kate Lea Donald (Mrs. Harry), Vice-President; M. E. Henry-Ruffin (Mrs. Frank G.), Treasurer; Miss Anne Bozeman Lyon, Secretary. The name chosen for the new organization was "Alabama Auxiliary, League of American Pen Women." Later the term "Auxiliary" was changed to "Branch." Thus began

the first Pen Women group to be organized in the Deep South. The "Narcissus Poeticus" was adopted as the state flower, in compliment to Mrs. Shawhan, and white and gold as the official colors. The records contain a number of early reports, quaintly tied in the manner of the day with white and gold ribbons.

The Auxiliary was invited to be a member club in the Federation of Women's Clubs and did yeoman service for federation causes. After some years the Auxiliary resigned from federation membership since Pen Women had state and national affiliation through their own League.

The women who signed the 1916 charter, including the officers already named, were dubbed "The Storied Twelve" by Miss Lyon. Mrs. Shawhan, a journalist, was later to become a nationally known author and lecturer on parliamentary law. Mrs. Donald's *A Daughter of the Gods*, remains the best definitive biography of Helen of Troy collated from every possible source. Mrs. Ruffin, highly rated by critics as a "powerful story teller . . . of great skill . . . vivid and picturesque," is best known for her novels, *The North Star*, *Shield of Silence*, *Eden on the James*, her volumes of verse, *Drifting Leaves* and *John Gillart*, and countless poems and short stories. Miss Lyon's fugitive poems hold a poignant beauty that still thrills the reader.

Other charter members were Fanny Lesesne Johnstone (Mrs. Elliott) essayist and club critic; Amanda Moore Goldthwaite (Mrs. Henry) sparkling writer of social events that included a dinner in Panama with the Prince of Wales, editor of a gossip weekly, "Chat," and correspondent at Ancon, Canal Zone, for nationally known periodicals; Kate Ayers Robert (Mrs. Paul) writer of occasional verse; Emma Langdon Roche, one of Mobile's most gifted artists for whom the Mobile Library named its Emma Langdon Roche Room, author and illustrator of *Historic Sketches of the South*, a scholarly and understanding treatise on the Southern Negro, and a painter whose oils placed first in important shows; Jessica McGuire (Mrs. W. W.) a home demonstration agent and writer; Annie Shillito Howard (Mrs. William) notable for her pageants and for the book, *Enchantment in Iron*, about Mobile's "iron lace," exquisitely illustrated by her husband, and her long poem, *Mobilienne*; Mary McNeil Fenollosa (Mrs. Ernest) author of *Truth Dexter*, *The Dragon*

Painter, Breath of the Gods, and after her husband's death, co-author of his monumental unfinished work on Oriental art; Eugenia Marx (Mrs. Melvern D. Metcalfe of Sioux Falls, S. D.) journalists and poet, selected by the Jewish Welfare Board for service overseas, in the First World War, with headquarters in Paris.

Subsequently "The Storied Twelve" were joined by others, a list too long to detail here, but to be found by reference to the records. Among the celebrities was the Princess Troubetskoy, (Amelie Rives) wife of Prince Paul, author of *The Quick and the Dead According to St. John*, and other novels, a woman of great beauty, whose books, metropolitan critics said, were among the best of her day. Winifred Kimball, a Mobilian living in Apalachicola, Florida, won \$10,000 for her scenario, *Broken Chains*, in a Chicago News nation-wide contest. Rosine Pillichody Cox composed the "Mobile Rifles March," an item now and part of this Pen Women collection. Rose Kahn, in those days a beginning journalist, is now Women's Feature Editor of The New Orleans States-Item. Katherine Hopkins Chapman of Selma, notable short story writer, was elected National Vice-President, first Alabamian to achieve national office. Anne Raphael Boone (Mrs. B. B.) left Mobile to become a reader in the medical books' department of Appleton's New York Publishing house.

Browsing through these old records one is struck by the fact that here was a group of women, brilliant and prolific, that has not been matched since. They operated on a shoe string, for the treasurer's book shows balances of \$8.00, \$3.23 and such like meagre amounts, and one is astonished to find that the First National Bank faithfully sent statements each month. The number and variety of community activities undertaken by the Pen Women—some of these activities could by no stretch of the imagination be called "literary"—are amazing. For example, Pen Women conducted patriotic "sings" in the parks as a war time gesture; put on canning demonstrations, Hoover Lunches out of jars in behalf of food conservation, wheatless and meatless parties, gave a silver trinket tea in aid of "Wings for the USA," a war Relief Bazaar, endorsed Opera-in-Our-Language, backed the public library movement, endowed a bed at the American Hospital in Neuilly, France, gave benefits for an

invalid member, put on a suffragette play by the Uncrushed Comedy Company for the soldiers at Fort Morgan, raised funds to equip a War Prisoners' Home, helped stage a Veterans' Tag Day, presented gavels of silver and mahogany, right and left to officials, planned to beautify city parks with trees named for famous Alabama writers, planted shrubbery around the statue of Abram J. Tyan, poet-priest of the Confederacy, helped a dental clinic project, endorsed Muscle Shoals development by Henry Ford, sent a wreath by Mrs. Oscar Underwood to the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, came out firmly for better speech and cleaner journalism, interceded with Governor Gifford Pinchot for the release of a prisoner, Clarence Alexander Rea, incarcerated in Eastern Penitentiary, Pa., for stealing books. In May, 1921, Alabama Pen Women joined with other groups in a crusade, urging the State Department and the Congress to secure the immediate release of Marguerite Harrison, American newspaperwoman, imprisoned by the Soviets. No doubt due to this crusade Mrs. Harrison was freed. The auxiliary also started a library of Pen Women books, but they have been scattered.

Scarcely two years old, the Alabama Auxiliary was suddenly threatened with dissolution. National advised that since no regular meetings had been held for a year, the Auxiliary's charter would be revoked. The outcry from Alabama members was instantaneous and indignant. They deposed that in the face of the national calamity, the calls made upon them by doctors and hospitals, the need for nurses, the flu epidemic, and the death on June 1, 1918, of their founder and mentor, Mrs. Mumma, they were helpless. National made a strategic retreat, the patriotic work of the auxiliary was recognized, the charter was retained, and the organization got off to a new year in the fall of 1919.

In 1923, Mrs. Chapman, then State Vice-President, acting upon a directive from National, began to organize local units throughout the state. Before her death she had started three such units: Mobile, Selma-Montgomery, and Birmingham. There are now four, South Alabama Branch having been organized by Frances Durham during her term as state president, 1956-58. Extension, under the constitution, is one of the functions of a state vice-president.

Of Selma's organization, Brockenborough Fitzhugh Smith wrote:

“The gloom of the (First) World War was not yet dissipated. Even Selma, seat of aristocracy of the Old South, felt the need of a cultural spiritual awakening. Mrs. Chapman, solitary Selma Pen Women and later Fifth Vice-President, (National) of NLPWA, invited to her home five writers (February, 1923).”

They elected Elinor Evins Stewart, President; Alice Alison Lide, Vice-President; Mary Butler, Secretary-Treasurer. These eligibles were joined as charter members by Mrs. Smith, Elizabeth Winston Sheehan, Eugenia Bragg Smith, Anne Arrington Tyson, and Belle Allen Ross, Montgomerians, so that the group became a hyphenated Selma-Montgomery branch.

Commenting on this, Mrs. Sheehan writes: “This branch might truly be called the Selma - Montgomery - Eufaula - Clayton - LaFayette - Tuscaloosa - Eutaw - Greenville - Wetumpka - Marion - Ozark - Troy - Ramer - Camden - Auburn Branch, since many towns in Middle Alabama were represented.” Mrs. Sheehan remains custodian of the records for this branch.

Mrs. Chapman transferred her membership to her home town, Selma, when she organized that unit. Simultaneously, Mobile Branch became a entity, distinct from the State Branch. Mrs. Shawhan is listed as its first President. Mobile's local branch carried on until the Mid-Thirties. Members then were growing older, illness, death, resignations and the depression were taking a heavy toll. In 1936-37, according to the minute book, there had been no meeting of the local branch for a year. On Page 106 of the Treasurer's Book, there is the sad notation: “Local dues (\$2.50), owing to the depression, were suspended for members, 1932-33.” In February, 1939, national dues of three members were forwarded to Washington, and with this entry, Mobile Branch folded up. For an interim of over a decade there was no active Mobile Branch. Early in the 1950's a group of five interested women reactivated the Mobile Branch, meetings were resumed, and it still carries on.

The Birmingham Branch, according to Una Reeves, current President, was organized February 28, 1925, by Frances Youngblood. Mrs. Chapman installed the following officers: Kate Speake Penney, President; Miss Youngblood, Vice-President; Emily McBride, Secretary-Treasurer. Others included in the

organization were Nellie K. Murdock and Dorothy Youngblood. The Birmingham Branch more than doubled its membership during the first two months. It has always been the largest unit, numerically, in the State. Frances Youngblood's principal contribution was her initiation of annual state meetings, when she was State President, 1928-30.

South Alabama Branch was organized February 23, 1957, by Frances Durham during her term as State President. This branch had the honor to receive its charter from the National President, Dorothy Betts Marvin, at the State meeting in Montgomery, March 16, 1957. It was the first new Pen Women branch in Alabama in 32 years. Sara Campbell Liby was elected first President; Vivian Jelks, Vice-President; Evelyn Hinz, Corresponding Secretary; Shelby Holbrook, Recording Secretary; Lucille Lloyd, Treasurer. Others in this original group were Corinne Demetropolis and Mary Frances Militano.

During her administration Mrs. Durham emphasized the presentation of the citation "Honorary Penguin" to men who had performed some service for the Pen Women. It is Pen Women tradition that men relatives become, automatically, *Penguins*. Extending this pleasant custom, Alabama branches have named several men, *Honorary Penguins*. The list includes Charles Daniel, Assistant Director, Mobile Public Library; John Fay, Fine Arts, Editor, The Mobile Press, Register; Dr. Emmett Kilpatrick, Troy State College; Dr. George Lang, University of Alabama; Mr. Clinton Balmer, Lychburg, Publishers' Representative; Dr. M. L. Orr, Alabama College; George Waller, former U. S. Consul, Montgomery; Rev. William Hill, Rector, St. James Episcopal Church, Fairhope; Mr. Joe Mitchell Pilcher, Montgomery; Dr. J. Clarendon McClure, Mobile.

One of the goals Mrs. Durham set for herself as State President was to leave for Pen Women an accurate list of their State Presidents. Not an easy task, but with the help of others, Mrs. Durham was able to compile the following list of 22 names to date:

State Representative

*Rosa Meyers Mumma, Robertsdale	1916-17
*Anne Bozeman Lyon, Mobile	1917-20
(Resigned February 7, 1920)	

*Narcissa T. Shawhan, Mobile	1920-23
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State Vice-Presidents

*Katherine Hopkins Chapman, Selma	1923-26
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*Katherine Speake Penney, Birmingham	1926-28
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State Presidents

Frances Youngblood, Birmingham	1928-30
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*Eugenia Bragg Smith, Montgomery	1930-32
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*Nellie K. Murdock, Birmingham	1932-34
--------------------------------	---------

*Marie Bankhead Owen, Montgomery	1934-36
----------------------------------	---------

*Mittie Owen McDavid, Birmingham	1936-38
----------------------------------	---------

Willie Hughes Tarpley, Birmingham	1938-40
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*Lelia Fearn Lusk, Guntersville	1940-42
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Genevieve Airey, Wetumpka	1942-44
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*Leilamay Scott, Birmingham	1944-46
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*Florence Moss, Birmingham	1946-48
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Elizabeth Winston Sheehan, Montgomery	1948-50
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Sallie Hill, Birmingham	1950-52
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Anne Kendrick Walker, Eufaula	1952-54
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Maud Elliott, Birmingham	1954-56
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Frances Durham, Fairhope	1956-58
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Madera Adams Spencer, Montgomery	1958-60
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Vivian Jelks, Mobile	1960-
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*Deceased

THOMAS COOPER DeLEON:

ALABAMA'S FIRST PROFESSIONAL MAN-OF-LETTERS

by

Benjamin B. Williams

University of Alabama

Montgomery Center

Taken as a whole, nineteenth century Alabama authors were writers by avocation only. In the case of the male author, writing was the product of spare moments left over after the legislative hall, the court room, or the hustings had taken the fire and energy of his words. The familiar pattern of lawyer-politician, and its variations of lawyer-editor, lawyer-historian, and editor-politician, is found in the biography of nearly every nineteenth century Alabama writer. Alabama's female authors of the same period, even those who enjoyed some success as writers, did not devote their entire careers to earning a livelihood by the pen alone. With the possible exception of Caroline Lee Henzt, who turned to writing exclusively only in the last decade of her life after a long career in teaching, the women came from wealthy families or were married to men of means.

In Alabama, as throughout the South, the sectional issues and later the problems brought on by Reconstruction demanded the full-time effort of the most talented men in the political arena. These issues, which consumed the imaginative talents of Yancey and drew fledgling writers such as William Russell Smith, Alexander Beaufort Meek, and Henry Washington Hillard into the political maelstrom of the time, dominated the thinking of the gifted writer. The first truly professional Alabama man-of-letters, Thomas Cooper DeLeon, began his nearly half a century of authorship immediately after the Civil War.

Thomas Cooper DeLeon was born on May 21, 1839, in Columbia, South Carolina. Both of his parents were of Spanish descent, the families having migrated to the Spanish West Indies and later to South Carolina before the American Revolution. His father was a respected physician in Columbia, and an admirer of the erstwhile president of South Carolina College,

Dr. Thomas Cooper, whose death ten days before Thomas Cooper DeLeon's birth provided the author with his given names.

T. C. DeLeon was the child of his parents' old age; consequently his education and guardianship soon fell to his two older brothers, David Camden and Edwin.¹ He received part of his education at Fort Prevel, Maine, and then attended Rugby Academy in Washington, D. C., where his brother Edwin was conducting the political organ *The Southern Press*.² One of his classmates at Rugby was Henry Watterson, later a distinguished editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*. After his preparatory course at Rugby Academy, DeLeon entered Georgetown College to pursue a course in engineering. As an undergraduate he gained a reputation among his friends and classmates as a wit and raconteur, contributing essays, stories, and verses to several periodicals including the renowned *Southern Literary Messenger*. It was during these college years that DeLeon formed his life-long friendship with the Maryland poet James Ryder Randall.

In 1853, when his brother Edwin was appointed consul-general to Egypt, Thomas was left in the care of his brother's close friend, Jefferson Davis, then serving as Secretary of War in President Pierce's cabinet.³ This association with the future Confederate President was to lead to a unique war-time assignment.

Upon his graduation from Georgetown in 1858 with a degree in engineering, T. C. DeLeon put aside his greater interest, the world of letters, and accepted a position as an audit clerk in the Bureau of Topographical Engineering in Washington, D. C. He remained in this position until the early months

¹ David Camden DeLeon (1813-1872) was a U. S. Army surgeon and first Surgeon-General of the Confederacy. Prior to his Confederate service he had served in the Seminole War and the Mexican War during his twenty-five years in the U. S. Army.

Edwin DeLeon (1818-1891) was a lawyer, journalist, and diplomat. He served as consul-general to Egypt under Presidents Pierce and Buchanan, and as director of Confederate propaganda in Europe during the Civil War.

² T. C. DeLeon, "Biographical Memoranda, "(DeLeon file, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama), April 30, 1913.

³ T. C. DeLeon, *Old Vets Gossip* (Mobile, 1911). This magazine has no page numbers.

of 1861 when he departed from the federal capital and made his way to the new capital of the Confederacy at Montgomery, Alabama, to serve his native Southland.

His brother David Camden DeLeon had already resigned his commission in the United States Army, in which he had served for twenty-five years as a medical officer, and offered his services to President Davis. The latter immediately appointed him to the post of Surgeon-General. His brother Edwin likewise resigned his federal consul post in Egypt, running the Union blockade to rally around the President of the new nation. Davis dispatched Edwin to Europe where he was charged with conducting the Confederate propaganda campaign in foreign presses.

In 1862, Thomas Cooper DeLeon was commissioned a captain in the Confederate Army,⁴ and throughout the war served as secretary to President Davis, being "intrusted with confidential correspondence."⁵ This service, which connected him intimately with the Confederate leaders, became the basis for his most significant work, *Four Years In Rebel Capitals*.

As soon as the war was over, Thomas Cooper DeLeon set out upon his long career as author, editor, and publisher. In 1865, he became editor of *The Cosmopolite*, a magazine published in Baltimore, Maryland. It was during his nearly two years of residence in Baltimore that he collected and published one of the first anthologies of Confederate war songs and poetry, *South Songs* (1866).⁶ This was DeLeon's first book.

DeLeon, seeking to enhance his literary opportunities, spent parts of the years 1866 and 1867 in New York City where he wrote a series of newspaper articles under the *nom de plume* "Dunne Browne."⁷ At this time too, his "Four Years in Rebel Capitals" began to appear serially in the (Mobile) *Sunday Times*. Parts of this same series also appeared in McClure's *Philadelphia Times*.⁸ In addition to his newspaper articles,

⁴ T. C. DeLeon, "Biographical Memoranda," loc. cit.

⁵ T. C. DeLeon, "The Real Jefferson Davis," (newspaper article dated December, 1908, in the Asa Stratton Collection, Alabama Archives).

⁶ T. C. DeLeon, *South Songs* (New York, Blelock and Company, 1866).

⁷ Louis DeVendel Chaudon, "Sketch of the Author," in DeLeon, *Four Years In Capitals* (Mobile, 1892), p. 7.

⁸ T. C. DeLeon, *Old Vets Gossip*, loc. cit.

DeLeon found time to translate two French novels, Octave Feuillet's *Camors* (1866) and Ernest Feydeau's *Chalis* (1867).

The "Dunne Browne" articles were circulated widely, and brought DeLeon to the attention of the owners of the *Mobile Register* who offered him the position of managing editor of the *Register* in 1867. From the day of his arrival in the Gulf city until his death forty-seven years later, DeLeon was a resident of Mobile.

T. C. DeLeon was a man of almost infinite energy, and he was rarely satisfied unless he was engaged in several enterprises concurrently. Soon after taking up his editorial duties on the *Register*, he became interested in the theater. In 1870 he wrote a dramatic burlesque, *Hamlet, Ye Dismal Prince: Ye Bigamist and Ye Ghoste*. This play was produced at the Olympia Theater in New York, having an amazing run of one hundred nights. In the next four years, DeLeon had three more plays produced in New York although none was as successful as the first.⁹ From 1873 to 1884, he also managed the Mobile Theater.¹⁰

DeLeon's flair for the dramatic lead him to undertake the organization of the Mobile Mardi Gras carnival in 1873. The "Cowbellian de Rakin Society," composed of young men of Mobile, had been organized on New Year's Eve in 1830. It had begun as a masking society devoted to public parading and celebrating, and later became dedicated to welfare work as well. Through the years other masking societies had organized for similar purposes, but the celebrations were held at various times during the year. Many of the parades were held on the day before the Lenten season began, Shrove Tuesday. DeLeon organized and formulated the various societies into one week-long event, culminating on "Fat Tuesday," or Mardi Gras.¹¹ For twenty-five years DeLeon managed the Mardi Gras in Mobile, gaining a nation-wide reputation for staging such public pageants. In 1874 and 1875, he was called upon to organize carnivals in Pensacola, Florida; and in 1876, Vicksburg, Mississippi, employed him to stage their celebration. He

⁹ The three plays were *Pluck*, a comedy, 1873; *Jasper*, a mystery based on Dickens' *Edwin Drood*, 1873; and *Bet: or Through Fire and Water*, 1874.

¹⁰ Louis Chaudron, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

organized the first Baltimore "Oriole" carnival in 1881, and managed the Albany, New York, Bi-centennial in 1886. He extended similar services to Civil War veteran's organizations, conducting the Blue-Gray Drill in Mobile, in 1885, and the National Drill in Washington, D. C., in 1887.¹²

During the period of these activities, DeLeon also produced a stream of prose fiction and articles for such magazines as *Harper's*, *Appleton's*, *Leslie's*, and *Lippincott's*.¹³ In 1871, Lippincott's published the first of his novelettes, *Cross Purposes*, a Christmas romance in which a child's parents humor him with a story which relates the events leading to their marriage. In 1888, DeLeon reissued the little book from his own Gossip press.

On the death of John Forsyth in 1877, the *Mobile Register* changed hands, and DeLeon left the newspaper to establish his own publishing house, the Gossip Printing Company of Mobile. In 1878, DeLeon undertook the publication of a literary magazine, *The Gulf Citizen*.¹⁴ After five issues the periodical ceased publication, suffering the fate of previous Alabama literary magazines—lack of financial support.

In the decade of the 1880's, DeLeon produced no large scale work. He continued to contribute to magazines, reissued some of his previously published books from his Gossip press, and spent much of his time as entrepreneur of carnivals and encampments. During this time, however, he began writing in an entirely new *genre*—travesty.

In 1887, DeLeon wrote the first of his travesties, *Coqsures; A Lay of a Very Late Encampment*. In this piece he ridicules, in a humorous way, the soldier, especially the veteran. The humor of the piece is not very universal, and for the modern reader it is not very funny. His travesty *The Rock of the Rye; An Understudy*. After "*The Quick or the Dead?*" (1888), is

¹¹ DeLeon, *Old Vets Gossip*, loc. cit.

¹² Thomas M. Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography* (Chicago, 1921), III, 477.

¹³ Eleanor Fallin McKellar, "Life and Works of Thomas Cooper DeLeon," (unpublished master's thesis, Auburn University, 1952), p. 7.

¹⁴ DeLeon, ed., *The Gulf Citizen* (June-October, 1878). There is a bound file of this periodical in the Alabama Archives.

more successful in that it is a recognizable literary parody of Amelie Rives' best selling novelette.¹⁵ The main character of *The Rock or the Rye* is Agammemna, who in every way represents the antithesis of the heroine of the domestic novel. She loves two men, both drunkards, and is attracted to the second because she thinks that he is wealthy. This was the most successful of DeLeon's travesties, running twenty-eight editions.¹⁶

In 1894, DeLeon attempted somewhat the same thing in his *Schooners That Bump On the Bar; or an Automatic Tow from "Ships That Pass In the Night."* The heroine of Beatrice Harraden's runner-up to the best sellers of that year comes in for much of the same treatment that DeLeon gave Amelie Rives' heroine.¹⁷ Vassarline Stryker, the girl in *Schooners That Bump On the Bar*, is depicted as something less than a female drunkard. At a resort hotel she meets an unlikely character, identified as the Bottomless Man, to whom she attaches herself for a time. These two spend most of their time drinking and carrying on nonsensical conversations. Following the holiday at the hotel, each goes his own way, Vassarline marrying and the Bottomless Man inheriting a large sum of money from an aunt. The whole piece is a hyperbole in incident and language of the popular domestic novel.¹⁸

Two other pieces in a similar vein, *Society As I Foundered It* (1890), a burlesque of Southern society manners and mannerisms, and *The Inauguration of President Watterson* (1902), a literary joke on his old friend, the editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, contain some humorous passages, but are not as successful as the more obvious attacks on the domestic novel.

It is interesting to note that DeLeon, in his travesties, makes fun of the techniques and devices which he himself employed in most of his stories, novelettes, and novels, that

¹⁵ Frank Luther Mott, *Golden Multitudes* (New York, 1947), p. 249, wrote that Amelie Rives' book, "adored by sentimental young ladies, . . . did not fall far short of the top rank of best sellers."

¹⁶ Chaudron, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

¹⁷ Mott, *op. cit.*, pp. 315, 324.

¹⁸ McKeller, *op. cit.*, p. 35, considers the travesties to be third-rate humor, but fails to see, I think, the literary parody in which the greater part of the humor lies.

is, the traditionally pure heroine and the admirable hero. In one book only did he select a theme and character not wholly in the post-war tradition of popular romances.

Between 1889, and 1905, DeLeon produced prose fiction amounting to fourteen published titles in addition to poetry, non-fiction, and uncollected stories, poems, and essays which appeared in numerous periodicals.

In 1889 his novel *Creole and Puritan* was published in *Lippincott's Magazine*, marking his "first success" as a writer of popular fiction.¹⁹ In this book DeLeon discovered the success formula for post-war popularity, the love story of the Northerner and Southerner. A sequel to this book, *The Puritan's Daughter*, was issued by his Gossip press in 1892. Here again the love story of the creole, Adrain Latour, and the Northern heroine, Miss Moore, recommended the book to readers of both sections. Elsewhere in the book DeLeon finds praiseworthy attributes in his Northern characters, meanwhile casting the most favorable aura around the personal and social conduct of Southerners.

In the novelette *Juny; Or Only One Girl's Story* (1890), the verse novel *Sybilla; A Romaunt of the Town* (1891), and the epistolary novelette *Out of the Sulphur* (1895), DeLeon mildly attacks certain social practices which he evidently praises in his other books. The approach to his theme of triteness and over-emphasis on success in these books is not, as in the travesties, achieved through exaggeration and humor, but through characters who are victims of these social attitudes.

DeLeon's *John Holden, Unionist* (1893), written in collaboration with the Mobile journalist Erwin Ledyard, although replete with many of the devices of post-war information, is, I think, his most interesting and, perhaps, his most important work of fiction. The story is set in North Alabama during the Civil War. The title character is a poor farmer who owns no slaves, sees no purpose in the war, and feels no sense of loyalty for the Confederacy. He encourages his son, Hank, to desert the Confederate Army, and with the aid of his son's wife keeps the boy hidden from Confederate cavalry which is searching for deserters.

¹⁹ Chaudron, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

The character of John Holden is made somewhat repulsive. He is a vengeful troublemaker, and in the eyes of some Southern book reviewers, overdrawn. A contemporary review of the book states that "the average Unionist as he acted and thought was a better man."²⁰ The character of John Holden, even though exaggerated, is, I believe, more interesting and historically accurate than the stereotyped heroes and heroines of the popular novels of the day. The book is not without the usual love story. In the book, a brave but untutored farm girl, Jen Freeman (a thinly veiled portrait of Alabama's girl-heroine of the war, Emma Sansom), loves and is loved by the dashing Confederate cavalry lieutenant Beverly whose life she saves.

In *A Fair Blockade Breaker* (1891), *An Innocent Cheat* (1897), *Crag-Nest* (1879), and *The Pride of the Mercers* (1897), DeLeon returned, for the most part, to the success formula of his earlier fiction. In these books he extolls the virtues of the Southern maiden and the admirable qualities of the proud and honorable men, as well as the importance of family and social class. In each story the love plot is developed, almost mechanically, as lovers meet, are separated by trivial misunderstandings, and, of course, reunited happily at the end. In those books in which Northerners are portrayed, for example, the "Yankee" soldiers who make a search of the plantation "Crag-Nest" in the novel, DeLeon shows that there were men of virtue and good breeding at the North as well as the South. In *The Pride of the Mercers*, he indicates that too much family pride, especially where it is unmerited as in the case of General Mercer's son Clay, can be an evil.

A collection of three short stories, published in 1887 under the title *A Bachelor's Box*, is replete with the same characteristics as the longer fictional works of DeLeon.²¹

Of the miscellaneous prose writing published by DeLeon, the series of pamphlets entitled *Our Creole Carnivals* (1890-99)

²⁰ (review) "John Holden, Unionist," *Birmingham Age Herald*, April 21, 1893.

²¹ This writer has been unable to find two prose works in the DeLeon bibliography, *Tales of the Coves* (1903) and *the Passing of Arle Haine* (1905).

is the most interesting to the modern reader. In these pieces he traces the history and development of the Mardi Gras and gives a current account of the carnivals during the 1890's. In his only political publications (other than his writers as managing editor of the *Mobile Register*), DeLeon came out in defense of the Democratic party in *The Rending of the Solid South* (1895) and *East, West and South* (1896). The latter is a plea in support of Bryan against McKinley.

In poetry, DeLeon gained sufficient notice for his occasional verses to earn the sobriquet of "Blind Laureate of the Lost Cause."²² There is no evidence of any great talent in his verse publications, but for the occasions on which they were written DeLeon's poems seem to have caught the spirit of the events. In his best known verses DeLeon pays tribute to such famous men as "Stonewall" Jackson, Lee, Ryan, and Lafayette. "Asleep With Jackson" is his tribute to the Confederate general, and "Paladin and Poet" is a joint praise to Lee and Ryan. On June 17, 1902, his "Tribute of the Flags" was delivered on the unveiling of the Lafayette statue in Washington, D. C. He composed the poem "The Living Lee for the Washington-Lee Centennial on January 15, 1907.

In biographical and reminiscence writing DeLeon made his most significant contributions to Alabama's literature. In 1890, he brought together in one volume his reminiscences of the political and social leaders of the Confederacy in his *Four Years In Rebel Capitals*. A second edition of the work was issued in 1892. By virtue of his close association with Jefferson Davis throughout the war, DeLeon had been in a position to record personal characteristics of the men and women of importance in the Confederate capitals of Montgomery and Richmond. The book is an odd mixture of important and unimportant personages who inhabited those cities in war time. The book records his observations of the political and social scene from the spring of 1861, in Washington, to the evacuation of Richmond in 1865.

DeLeon's last two important publications were his biography, *Joseph Wheeler* (1899) and *Belles, Beaux, and Brains of the Sixties* (1907). The former was a timely account of

²² Owen, op. cit., p. 477.

Alabama's famous soldier who served as a general in both the Confederate Army and the United States Army in the Spanish-American War. *Belles, Beaux, and Brains*, which appeared first serially in the magazine *Town Topics*, is similar in content to the material in *Four Years in Rebel Capitals* but deals exclusively with biographical reminiscences. In 1912, DeLeon published a pamphlet entitled *Centennial Remembrance Book of Colonel John Forsyth*, a tribute to his friend and associate on the *Mobile Register* during Reconstruction days.

From the time he established the Gossip Printing Company until his death, DeLeon had issued, at irregular intervals, a little magazine, *The Gossip*, and from 1910 to 1914 he edited a continuation of this little periodical under the title *Old Vets Gossip*. The last issues of this magazine were filled with essays of reminiscences of the Civil War and its Southern heroes. In perhaps the last letter written before his death, DeLeon mentioned his plan to put out an issue of the *Gossip* to commemorate his seventy-fifth birthday on May 21, 1914.²³

The tremendous productivity of DeLeon is even more amazing when one considers the fact that after going blind in 1903 he continued to write and publish with unabated energy. In his middle sixties, he learned to use the typewriter, continued his *Gossip* magazine, wrote and published several novels and short stories, and completed the almost impossible task of arranging the materials for *Belles, Beaux, and Brains*....

In the spring of 1914, DeLeon suffered two paralytic strokes, the second one fatal. He died on March 19, 1914, two months before his seventy-fifth birthday. His passing was noted by the press throughout the South, and the *Mobile Register* gave him a front page tribute. DeLeon had never publicized his own Confederate service, and on his death one newspaper felt the need to justify his burial with war veterans in "Confederate Rest" of Mobile's Magnolia Cemetery "because of his work in later years . . . in perpetuating the heroes of the 'Cause lost but not forgotten.' in story and fiction writings."²⁴

²³ Letter from T. C. DeLeon to Thomas M. Owen, Mobile, March 14, 1914. (DeLeon file, Alabama Archives).

²⁴ "Mobile Author is Laid to Rest," (newspaper clipping in the DeLeon file dated March 21 [1914], Alabama Archives). In his "Biographical Memoranda," *loc. cit.*, DeLeon wrote that he held a captain's commission in the CSA.

From the accounts of his personality left by DeLeon's contemporaries there emerges a picture of a man of wit and irascibility. James Ryder Randall described him as " 'ready, available, quickwitted, accomplished, rapid, brilliant.' " ²⁵ The daughter of his landlady in his last years remembered him as a " 'brilliant and sometimes irascible man with a sense of humor.' " ²⁶ Erwin Craighead, a Mobile journalist, recalled that "his fine conversational gift and buoyancy of spirit gave him the entree everywhere," ²⁷ but also noted his irascible nature as well:

People engaged in co-operative effort for charity or whatnot found him difficult to get along with. . . . A rule was a rule with him. If any person thought it worth while to disregard it, friendship ceased and war began. ²⁸

DeLeon's literary abilities were highly praised by his uncritical contemporaries, although some recognized his limitations in fiction. His lack of sectional bias and his objectivity were characteristics of his writings often praised. One reviewer stated that "he has shown none of the narrowness that has defaced so many Southern books." ²⁹ Henry Watterson wrote " 'his work is so deft and his personality so withdrawn [that] he does not appear as a Southerner at all, and he could not be a Northerner.' " ³⁰

In praise of his fictional technique, Bishop wrote that His characters are drawn with a few bold and rapid strokes, rather than with the careful analysis which forms the method of so many novelists. Several of his books are what he calls "a mere succession of dramatic scenes," but being such they possess a dramatic force and vividness which would be impossible to a scriptive narrative. ³¹

²⁵ James Ryder Randall as quoted in Chaudron, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

²⁶ Miss Lorrain A. McCoy as quoted in George Fremault, "Mobillian Created Famed Book Here Despite Blindness," *Mobile Register*, May 18, 1947.

²⁷ Erwin Craighead, *From Mobile's Past* (Mobile, 1925), p. 56.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

²⁹ Julia T. Bishop, "T. C. DeLeon," *Houston Post*, October 29, 1893.

³⁰ Henry Watterson as quoted in Chaudron, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

³¹ Bishop, *loc. cit.*

Chaudron came nearest a just evaluation, stating that "he was born an essayist and an editor, his faculties being more critical and analytical than creative."³² Craighead felt that whatever success he attained in literature was "due in greatest part to his persistent publicity"³³ of his own writings in his magazine and in advertising circulars. Though not holding DeLeon's writings in high esteem, Craighead did recognize the indomitable spirit and perseverance of the man:

He never whimpered. He fought his fight bravely and cheerfully, even when blows fell that would have disheartened a less sturdy man; and he went on fighting, in the dark as in the light. From start to finish he led his army of one, and he died with the flag of DeLeon held resolutely high and its field unstained by any craven act.³⁴

DeLeon was never lured, as were most of his Alabama predecessors in literature, by the siren song of politics.³⁵ He devoted his life to the field of letters, and with energy and what talent he possessed, he wrung a living from writing. He lost no opportunity to promote his books,³⁶ and though his works were published in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, London, St. Paul, and Atlanta, most of his books were issued or reissued from his own Gossip Printing Company of Mobile. DeLeon could have made a significant contribution to Alabama and American literature if he had had a creative ability commensurate with his enormous capacity for work. The melancholy fact is that from all his efforts only the Civil War reminiscences have a value for the literary and social historian of today. The bulk of his fiction must be relegated to the limbo that has swallowed up most of the post-war domestic fiction which made its appeal to the popular taste of the time.

³² Chaudron, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

³³ Craighead, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

³⁵ In his "Biographical Memoranda," *loc. cit.*, DeLeon wrote, with regard to political office: "Thank the Lord [I] never wanted or asked for one anywhere," and to the inquiry as to his political party preference, answered: "Don't like the smell of it."

³⁶ See letter from T. C. DeLeon to Thomas M. Owen, Mobile, (no month), 30, 1913. (DeLeon file, Alabama Archives).

DISEASES IN THE ALABAMA BLACK BELT, 1875-1917¹

by Glenn N. Sisk

The Alabama Black Belt is a region of ten counties in the prairie land west of Montgomery, once a thriving cotton plantation section. This article deals with the people who lived there, and how they lived, between Reconstruction and World War I. In some other plantation areas of the South people probably lived much the same way.

Folks thought about sickness and ailments a great deal. Such mental preoccupation, which is evident from the correspondence of the period, was probably caused by the prevalence of illness and the ever present possibility of becoming a victim.²

The most common diseases in the Black Belt were small-pox, scarlet fever, diphtheria, yellow fever, dengue, malaria, tuberculosis, pneumonia, typhoid fever, and measles.³

One of the most dreaded maladies during the late nineteenth century was yellow fever. Dr. R. F. Michel contended that the yellow fever epidemic in Montgomery in 1873 was brought by two persons from Pensacola, Florida, and that it did not "spring from the soil" of Montgomery, nor was it caused by local conditions. These people, he contended, were exposed in Pensacola to "the yellow fever poison." This epidemic was more serious and prolonged than those of 1853, 1854, and 1855. Treatments included hot mustard bath, castor oil, Seidlitz powders, orangeleaf, black tea or sage tea. Doctors advised patients to keep warm, to apply mustard pediluvia, and to avoid stimulants and solid food. Beef tea, milk, lime water, gruel, chicken broth, and arrow root were permitted. Absolute rest and equable temperature in the sick room were required,

¹ For a longer treatment, see C. V. Stabler, "The History of the Alabama Public Health System" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Duke University, 1944).

² Edmund W. Pettus Letter Collection, 1865-1905, especially letters to Mrs. M. N. Lacy from Mrs. Pettus; *Eutaw Whig and Observer*, January 29, 1903.

³ *Transactions of the Medical Association of the State of Alabama*, 1870 (Montgomery, 1870), 251, 415-417; *ibid.*, 1871, 207, 218, 221, 312, 345; *ibid.*, 1872, 151-154; *ibid.*, 1900, 89-91; Report of the Alabama State Board of Health, 1883-84, 180; *ibid.*, 1895, 59.

and quinine sometimes was used. Careful observers noticed that the fever traveled both with and against the wind, that rain or clear weather made no difference, but that frost destroyed the yellow fever poison. After a "black frost" with ice on October 29 and 31, there was not another death by yellow fever reported after November 10.⁴

The reader can judge for himself the validity of these conceptions in the light of later discoveries that yellow fever is a bacterial disease carried by the mosquito.⁵

One of the most wide-spread and fatal yellow fever epidemics in the history of the country spread over much of the South in 1878. Dr. W. H. Sanders, prominent in Alabama state health work, was placed on duty that year as quarantine officer in Mobile Bay. As a member of a national commission to study the cause and the propagation of yellow fever, he aided in a report that paved the way for the Havana studies which discovered the actual cause of the disease.⁶

County officials quarantined their localities against persons or goods coming from places where there had been yellow fever. Vicksburg, Canton, Granada, and Holly Springs, Mississippi; Memphis; New Orleans; and Mobile were especially designated as infected areas.⁷ The authorities of Brandon, Mississippi even refused to receive a telegram from a place that might be infected.⁸

Yellow fever epidemics appeared at various places in the South during the seventies⁹ and the eighties. Some of these were as near the Black Belt as north Alabama and Pensacola,

⁴ R. F. Michel, M. D., "Epidemic Yellow Fever. In Montgomery, Alabama, Summer of 1873," extracted from the *Charleston Medical Journal and Review*, January, 1874, and copied in the *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, January 11, 1874.

⁵ *New Standard Encyclopedia* (10 volumes, Chicago, 1934), 10, see Yellow Fever.

⁶ W. H. Sanders, M. D., *The History, Philosophy, and Fruits of Medical Organization in Alabama* (Read before the Medical Association of the State of Alabama at its annual meeting of 1914), 9.

⁷ Greene County, Alabama, Commissioners' Court Minutes, September 2, 1878, F, 239; Sumter County, Alabama, Commissioners' Court Minutes, September 12, 1878, IV, 247.

⁸ *Southern Argus*, August 1, 1879.

⁹ H. G. McCall, *A Sketch; Historical and Statistical, of the City of Montgomery* (Montgomery, 1885).

Florida.¹⁰ In the fall of 1897 a yellow fever expert pronounced an epidemic in Selma, which caused a general exodus from the city. The pronouncement was a false alarm.¹¹

Other places were not so fortunate. An epidemic struck Greensboro in the late summer and fall of 1897 and caused considerable panic and hardship.¹² In Montgomery the fever struck like a plague. By November 4, 1897, the Montgomery Board of Health reported 121 cases of yellow fever and nine deaths in the city.¹³ The stampede out of the city following the first official announcement of a case on October 18 was "positively bewildering." "Every available vehicle was employed in hauling people to the trains and into the country. Every announcement of fresh cases of new foci intensified the fears of the people," and every known method was used to escape the scourage. "The suburbs were overrun with refugees; and in many cases families had to be contented with the humblest Negro cabins or with sleeping out in the open air A number of families belonging to the aristocratic Perry Street residents" were "camped out and living in a primitive manner."¹⁴

"The homes where the disease raged looked like structures that were suddenly abandoned The blinds were tightly drawn," and "save the frequent visits of the physicians and the yellow flag, no one would know they were occupied." There were only a few people in town. "During the week day very few stores were open for business, and they closed at three or four o'clock." The streets were "deserted after six

¹⁰ Report of the Board of Health of the State of Alabama, 1888 (Montgomery: 1888), 49; *ibid.*, 1883-1884, 244; *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, September 19, 1882.

¹¹ J. J. Thomas, *Fifty Years on the Rail* (New York, 1912), 105, 106; *Selma Morning Times*, October 27, 1897; Selma Cotton Mill Company, Minutes of the Board of Directors, 1895-1900, December 18, 1897 (MS in Alabama State Department of Archives), 75; C. C. Grayson, *Yesterday, Memories of Selma and Its People* (N.p., n. d.), 63, 64.

¹² W. E. W. Yerby, *History of Greensboro, Alabama, from Its Earliest Settlement* (Montgomery, 1908), 147; Dr. J. J. Castleman, Greensboro, Alabama, to Dr. W. H. Sanders, State Health Officer, Mobile, Alabama, April 3, 1899 (Records of the Alabama State Health Department in files of State Department of Archives.)

¹³ *Alabama Baptist*, November 4, 1897; *Annual Message of the Hon. John H. Clisby, Mayor of Montgomery*... September 30. 1898. (Montgomery, 1898.)

¹⁴ *The Alabama Knight*, November, 1897. The incidents related are from a diary of J. Pepperman, editor.

o'clock, save by doctors, newspaper reporters and policemen," and

the only beacon lights to be seen . . . were the undertakers and drug stores. Even the bar rooms and restaurants closed early. At night the policemen lit bon-fires on the streets, and the glow cast a melancholy tint over the still and sombre surroundings It was sad to see the removing from the residence of the dead body of a prominent citizen by the undertaker and his negro helper, the only attendant. Not a flower! not a friend! not a member of the family was to be seen! and off was carried the body at a ten-mile gait."¹⁵

Heroic deeds and devotion to duty were mixed with "instances of unreasonable cowardice and brutal selfishness" during the epidemic. "Delicate women and little children were turned away from one house after another in the towns to which they had fled." Guards—

promenaded up and down the platforms of railroad stations and thrust the muzzels of their guns in at car windows, commanding terrified women to lower the windows instantly on pain of death. Physicians vainly attempted to go from a town which was free from fever to a sick man across the line of another county, and met by shotguns and turned back, while the sick man was left to die for want of medical attention. People sickened and died, and no friends or neighbors . . .

or ministers "were permitted to visit or help bury them. Yet physicians, ministers, undertakers, and other steadfast souls went about their ministrations in the most courageous manner."¹⁶

On November 19 the governor lifted the quarantine from all portions of the state, and the refugees flocked home in droves.¹⁷ While the epidemic raged, Dr. W. H. Sanders, state

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, November, 1897.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, November, 1897.

¹⁷ *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 20, 1897; *Code of Alabama*, 1887, Article 1260-1265, 326.

health officer, was asked for some advice to the public in regard to precautions which should be taken. His advice was:

The laws of hygiene should be strictly observed. Do not eat 'trash'. Everyone that can ought to keep out of the night air, for it is at night that the germs are most aggressive and prevalent. People that live in two or three-story houses should sleep in the top story. Fires help to purify the atmosphere... In regard to disinfectants... formaldehyde gas is by far the best.¹⁸

Returning yellow fever refugees brought with them an epidemic of 387 cases of smallpox, which was less fatal than yellow fever.¹⁹ "A through vaccination was had and fumigation and disinfection was enforced in all known locations of infection... Besides fumigation and cleansing of walls, floors, furniture, such bedding, etc. was destroyed by fire, as seemed advisable."²⁰ About \$18,000 was expended in dealing with smallpox and yellow fever in the fall of 1897.²¹

Cases of yellow fever appeared in Montgomery and Selma in 1905 and 1907 respectively, but after the turn of the century the terrifying epidemics clouded in mystery and ignorance were conquered.²²

Malaria was another affliction. The Alabama Medical Association was aware in 1870 that malaria came from swamps and stagnant pools of water. Dr. J. S. Weatherly wrote of—

a large swamp situated about one mile northeast of the city of Montgomery, which in the opinion of most of our physicians, is productive of the greatest portion of malarial fever that we do have. The posion arising from this swamp seems to float over the city proper, and to locate upon the more elevated portions

¹⁸ Ibid., October 19, 1897.

¹⁹ Annual Mesage... John H. Clisby, Mayor of Montgomery... September 30, 1898, "Report of the City Physician", 85.

²⁰ Ibid., November, 1897.

²¹ Ibid., p. 12.

²² Montgomery Advertiser, August 10, 1905; Annual Message of the Hon. C. P. McIntyre, Acting Mayor of the City of Montgomery, September 30, 1905 (Montgomery, 1905), 7; Selma Morning Times, October 29, 1907.

of the city and suburbs; sometimes producing a good deal of remittent and intermittent fevers.²³

Doctors generally accepted this explanation of the cause of malaria throughout the seventies and eighties.²⁴ They were yet to learn that the "poison arising from this swamp" was the anophles mosquito bearing germs. Malaria was attributed to a "miasm" which might be blown by the winds from decaying vegetation, ponds of standing water, and such sources.²⁵ Most physicians agreed that three conditions were necessary to produce malaria fevers: heat, moisture, and decaying vegetation. They thought that conditions following the Civil War, such as defective drainage and increase in decaying vegetable matter, had contributed to the increase in malarial fevers.²⁶

Dr. R. D. Webb of Sumter County found the causes of "hemorrhagic and other pernicious malarial fevers . . . in the character of the soils, and in the peculiar meteorological features of the season [fall]."²⁷ Quinine was in use in the seventies, but was not always effective, and there was strong prejudice against it on the part of the public.²⁸ Dr. Seale Harris of Bullock County believed in 1895 that malaria was taken into the system largely through drinking water, and that the water should be boiled and filtered.²⁹

It should be noted here that since 1894 scientists have demonstrated with reasonable certainty that the germs of malaria are drawn by a mosquito with the blood of a sick person, that they multiply in the mosquito's body, and after an interval are injected into the blood of a second person through the sting of the insect. Physicians believe that a person can be infected with malaria in no other way.³⁰ Yet even after the discovery

²³ Transactions of the Medical Association of Alabama, 1870 (Montgomery, 1870), 416.

²⁴ Report of the Board of Health of Alabama, 1888 (Montgomery, 1888), 104.

²⁵ Dr. C. F. Fahs, Dallas County, in Transactions of the Medical Association of Alabama, 1870, 263-264.

²⁶ Ibid., 1870, 167; *ibid.*, 1871, 199.

²⁷ Report of the Board of the Health of Alabama, 1883-1884, 252.

²⁸ Transactions of the Medical Association of Alabama, 1871, 201.

²⁹ Report of the Board of Health of Alabama, 1895 (Montgomery, 1895), 59.

³⁰ New Standard Encyclopedia, VI, see Malaria.

of the cause of malaria, it lingered on as a serious factor in the health of the Black Belt. Eighty-six deaths from it were reported for the ten Black Belt counties in 1913.³¹

Smallpox was a constant menace, occurring from time to time in epidemic form. It was a particular concern of Dr. W. H. Sanders, the State Health Officers, in 1898, a year when epidemics raged in Birmingham,³² Montgomery,³³ Greene County,³⁴ and elsewhere in the state. Dr. Sanders, with the backing of the State Medical Association, tried to steer through the legislature of 1898 a compulsory vaccination law, but it failed to pass.³⁵ An amazing amount of indifference on the part of county officials and others was manifested as late as 1904.³⁶ In 1910 Dr. Sanders was still pleading with the county health officers and medical societies to be less careless in taking precautions against the spread of the disease.³⁷

Typhoid fever killed eighty-one people in the Black Belt counties in 1913. Sumter County had the highest death rate, of forty-two per 100,000 population, and Wilcox the lowest with six. Four counties outside the Black Belt were higher than Sumter in this respect.³⁸

The Black Belt, like many other parts of the South, was afflicted with hook-worm. It was found that about 1896 "no less than two million people of sound English ancestry between

³¹ Report of the Board of Health of Alabama, 1914 (Montgomery, 1914), 57.

³² Transactions of the Medical Association of Alabama, 1899 (Montgomery, 1899), 288.

³³ Annual Message . . . John H. Clisby, Retiring Mayor of Montgomery . . . 1899, 104.

³⁴ Dr. W. H. Sander's Diary, 1897-1900 (W. H. Sanders Collection, Alabama State Department of Archives), entries for December 23 and December 27, 1898.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, entries for November 28, December 5, and December 23, 1898; Transactions of the Medical Association of Alabama, 1899, 28-30.

³⁶ Contagious cases were isolated in special houses called "pest houses". Dr. D. S. Brockway, Sumter County Health Officer, to the State Health Officer (Alabama State Department of Health, State Correspondence, Drawer I, Folder 50, State Department of Archives).

³⁷ Dr. W. H. Sanders, *Small-pox and How to Exterminate It!* (Montgomery, 1910, in W. H. Sanders Collection, State Department of Archives).

³⁸ Report of the Board of Health of Alabama, 1914, 32.

the Potomac and the Gulf of Mexico" had this disease. "Shiftless, lazy 'crackers', 'poor whites', 'poor white trash', 'clay eaters' were the popular terms used to describe hookworm victims.

'Bloodless, anaemic,' said the doctors, 'their very blood had been sucked out of them, let out of them by hook-worms.' Generations of these southern whites have craved dirt, have grown feeble, have had spasms, have bought carloads of patent medicines, and have gone through the world 'shiftless' and 'lazy' without knowing what was the matter with them.³⁹

A convention for the prevention of hook-worms was called in Atlanta in 1910, and the Rockefeller Foundation made a grant for fighting the disease. A Southern Health Conference was organized out of the convention.⁴⁰ Dr. Charles W. Stiles, Washington, D. C., one of the leaders in the campaign against hook-worm, summed up the campaign in these words:

It is ten per cent epsom salts and thymol, and ninety per cent of sanitary privy. It seems to me that the sooner we realize the privy is not a private matter, but must be taken out of the hands of the family and licensed, and that the city must take care of it, the more progress we will make in our fight against this disease.⁴¹

Dr. H. G. Perry of Greensboro, Alabama, reported in 1910 that out of one hundred cases he found eighty-five per cent with "a positive history of ground-itch." He thought, after investigations, there was a ten per cent infection for the whole state, the northern counties being less infected than the southern.⁴² A study to determine the prevalence of hook-worm infestation among the "better classes" was made at "one of the larger institutions of learning in the State." "The persons examined were young adult males, of an average of 22.3 years, raised in

³⁹ *New Standard Encyclopedia*, V, see Hook-Worm.

⁴⁰ *Transactions of the Medical Association of Alabama*, 1910 (Montgomery, 1911), 567.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 579.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 578.

good surroundings, well educated, and representing the best classes of society. The cases noted were of a mild type and showed but few symptoms of infection." Seven Black Belt counties were represented in the study. Out of fifteen cases examined, seven tests showed positive results, eight showed negative.⁴³ All Alabama counties were infected, the southern counties more heavily than the northern.⁴⁴

By 1914 ninety-two hook-worm dispensaries were distributed throughout the Black Belt, located in all the counties except Lowndes and Montgomery. For the four years ending December 31, 1914, the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission had appropriated for the hook-worm work in Alabama a total of \$55,918.96. The State Board of Health had expended \$4,500, and fifty-seven counties had appropriated \$7,863.25. The total amount from all sources for the four years was \$68,332.21. The free clinics examined 52,742 persons and treated 43,519.⁴⁵ For the Black Belt \$1,175 was appropriated, 4,169 persons were examined, and 3,776 persons were treated.⁴⁶ The battle, however, was far from won, and hook-worm lingered on to take its toll, especially in the rural areas.

Influenza was known in the earlier part of the period as "La Grippe," shortened to "grip." Sumter County had a "terrible epidemic" of it in 1890-1891. Probably the most famous epidemic of influenza was that which came during World War I.⁴⁷

Tuberculosis took heavy tolls, especially among the Negroes. One-fifth of all the deaths in Union Springs in 1895 were from consumption. There was a larger death rate among the Negroes from consumption alone than the total white death rate.⁴⁸

⁴³ G. J. Winthrop, M.D. and H. P. Cole, M.D., "Geographical Distribution of Hookworm Disease in Alabama," *ibid.*, 558.

⁴⁴ Report of the Board of Health of Alabama, 1914, 58.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 78-80.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁴⁷ R. D. Spratt, "Medical Men of Sumter County, Alabama" (MS in possession of the author, Livingston, Alabama), 18.

⁴⁸ "Report of Seale Harris, M. D., County Health Officer of Bullock County," in Report of the Board of Health of Alabama, 1895, 59.

Pellagra, diphtheria, venereal diseases, pneumonia, spinal meningitis, and many other diseases claimed their toll in lives and health.⁴⁹ By far the largest proportion of diseases and ill health was among the Negroes.

The high incidence of disease from mysterious and poorly understood sources undoubtedly had its effect upon the morale and the general attitude of the people. The fatalistic and pessimistic attitudes of many of the people of the late nineteenth century, especially those living in rural districts, may be partly attributable to this cause. It is difficult for people living at the mid-twentieth century to realize what a great burden of physical and mental misery has been lifted from their lives.

⁴⁹ Report of the Board of Health of Alabama, 1914, 36, 48, 50.

INTERESTING AUTOGRAPHS

The two accompanying cuts, being photographic copies of documents in the hands of Mr Frank Earle of Montpelier, are here set out with the main purpose of showing five historic autographs. In one James Earle, the land claimer, made certain depositions before David Bryde Mitchell, United States Agent for Indian Affairs at Ft. Mitchell, and his statement is attested by George Stiggins and Josiah Fletcher. On the basis of this deposition, his claim was confirmed by David B. Mitchell and attested by William S. Mitchell, a relative of the Indian Agent. Mr. Earle, several times referred to as an Indian countryman, was living on lands now owned by his great-grandson prior to December 1818 and ther are numerous papers in the hands of the family which bear historic reference to this early occupancy.

George Stiggins, was a direct descendant of those Natchez Indians who were pushed east by the French in 1735 and settled in Talladega County between Tallaseehatchee and Talladega Creeks. Many of their descendants settled in the Tensaw country. Josiah Fletcher, a son-in-law of James Bailey, is written into a number of early territorial papers. Fletcher's wife was from the Tallapoosa River area and was, according to Col. Benjamin Hawkins, "educated" at Pierce's School on Tensaw Lake. The George Stiggins "Forty," not far from Shorter, in Macon County, adjoined James Bailey's property on the Tallapoosa. Mr. Stiggins is buried at Cubahatchee Baptist Church.

James Earley a white man an Indian Country man
 ann under the Act of Congress of March 3rd 1807, 620
 lines of land. To wit. It

Fraction 32 in Township 4 Range 3 on the East
 side of the River

I James Earley the above named. Claimant do solemnly swear
 that I occupied the above described Fraction prior to
 the War and have occupied it ever since, and that
 I was actively friendly to the United States during
 said war.

Sworn to before me James Earley
 this 10th Decem^r 1818

J. Mitchell

George Higgins and Josiah Fletcher being duly sworn
 before and say that we knew James Earley to have
 settled and occupied the above described land prior
 to the Creek War above mentioned and since then
 that he was likewise actively friendly to the United
 States during the said war

Sworn to before me the
 10th Dec^r 1818

J. Mitchell att^r

George Higgins
 Josiah Fletcher

James Earle formerly of the Creek Nation, now a resident of the Alabama Territory —
 having claimed the following tracts of land in the Alabama Territory, under the provisions of the act of Congress of the 2d of March, 1817, viz.
 Fraction 182 in Township 4 Range 3 East side of the
 Alabama River

And that same being conveyed to him by the Secretary of the Treasury, by and with the approbation of the President of the United States, as approved by his decision of the 21st of August, 1819; and instructions having been transmitted to me, in consequence of the said decision, to grant unto the said James Earle a certificate of the foregoing facts—I do, therefore, hereby certify, that the claim of the said James Earle to the before described tracts of land, was duly confirmed unto him by the Secretary of the Treasury, as aforesaid, under the provisions of the before mentioned act of Congress of the 2d of March 1817, and that he is entitled to the possession and enjoyment of the same.

Given under my hand at the Creek Agency, this Tenth day of November. 1819.

Test M. Smith, Secy.
 of the Agency.
 D. M. Smith, Secy.
 of the Agency.

THE MUSTER AT SAWONOGI

By Peter A. Brannon

A rare sketch drawn by S. Swan, shows the Montgomery True Blues at Camp Owen, near Old Augusta (Alabama) May 13, 1835. The picture was presented to the Alabama Department of Archives and History in 1922, by the family of E. M. Hastings, an early officer in the Blues, and there is a notation on the sketch that it was presented to Lieutenant Hastings.

This illustration shows the True Blues drawn up in line west of the Indian mound at the old Shawnee site of Sawonogi, which locality was later, in 1817, the earliest white settlement site in Montgomery County. The military company appears to have just left the cars, and by the way these cars are marked "Montgomery and West Point Railroad", and the locomotive and coaches are in near view in the perspective of the picture. Smoke emerges from the smoke stack of the engine. The commanding officer stands with the left sergeant and a color guard stands in mid-line. The company presents a martial appearance. Erected in the top of the mound, which is covered with large trees is a garrison size flag.

Records show David Owen as Captain of the True Blues, just before the outbreak of the war, and E. M. Hastings as 1st Lieutenant. The Picture is titled "Camp Owen" which leads to the assumption that the camp site was named for the commanding officer, though it might be that this military encampment bore the name of the father of the Captain, Colonel Lewis Owen, who was a leading citizen of Montgomery at the time.

Mr. Swan, the artist, was a photographer here in Montgomery in 1849, and he it was who made the original of the burning of the capitol, December 14, 1849, from which illustration, Sarony and Major made a lithograph. This lithograph is perhaps the most outstanding illustration in Montgomery history. Copies of the lithographs are in the Department's collection.

The drawing by Mr. Swan of this military encampment actually overshadows the Sarony lithograph, for this is the original drawing and not a copy of a sketch. Incidentally, Mr.

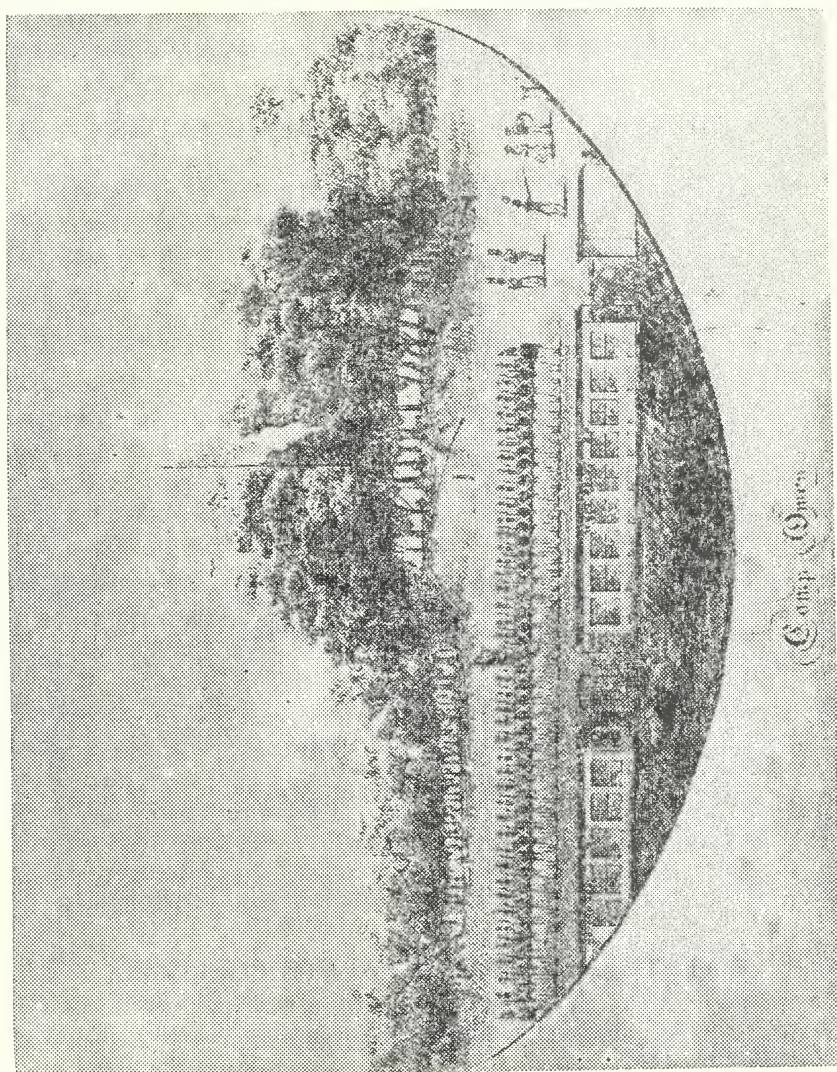
Swan and Mr. Lewis Owen were warm friends and Mr. Owen distributed several of the items published by Swan in later years.

Montgomerians, as well as Alabamians, recognize Mr. Swan as the printer who issued lottery tickets in the early fifties and was otherwise prominent in the printing and illustrating business. He built the home on the corner of South Hull and Adams Avenue and was a large property owner here.

The Montgomery True Blues Sketch is historically interesting as it is a current sketching of the uniform of the company, blue jackets with white trousers.

The Indian mound as sketched in 1853, is strikingly like it was until after the turn of the century and there is no difficulty whatever in recognizing this thrown up embankment when one sees it today, more than one hundred years since the picture was drawn.

Another interesting phase of the picture is that it shows the character of architecture of the Montgomery and West Point passenger cars of that period.



Camp Green

THE EARLY HISTORY OF MUSIC CLUBS
OF TROY, ALABAMA

BY
OLIVIA RAINER

Submitted to complete the
requirements for Music 421
for

Dr. Thomas J. Stone
Head, Department of Music

WESTERN KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE

May, 1961

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THE SETTING UP TO 1905

The younger generation of Troy in 1890 was emerging with the stories of the Civil War falling lightly on their ears except in instances where they were reminded by activities of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and by the stories which were the familiar stock in trade of some grandparent or uncle. Young ladies were expected to have an education in the many types of high schools, select schools, academies, and seminaries found in Troy prior to 1887. With the consolidation of these schools there emerged the Troy Male High School and the Troy Female Seminary. From these two institutions the Troy Normal School was established in 1887.¹

The college offered instruction in private lessons in piano, voice, art (including china painting), and elocution.² Instructors were most often paid on a fee basis, or with but a token salary.³ Recitals and art displays on various age levels were usual. Ample files of programs present an excellent picture of the cultural advancement of the young ladies in this remote corner of Alabama. The classical composers are represented in the early 1900's but there is a predominance of the more obscure composers. It would be difficult to draw a line between the concerts presented by the college and the concerts by Trojans since college and city activities were so closely

¹ Edward M. Shackelford, *First Fifty Years of Troy State Teachers College, Troy, Ala., 1887-1937* (Montgomery, Ala., Paragon Press, 1937), pp. 2-25.

² MS "Letter Book" of Troy Normal College, Troy, Alabama, July 1, 1899-March 10, 1902. A brochure dated November 25, 1901, and filed in the "Letter Book" lists the Department of Music Personnel as follows: Miss Mary Murphree, Director of Instrumental Music; Mrs. O. Worthy, Assistant Teacher, Instrumental Music; Miss Willette McMillan, Director of the Art Department; Miss Collier Hollan, Director of Elocution and Physical Culture; Miss Effie Woods, Director of the Department of Voice. This brochure is filed in the "Letter Book" omp. 456.

³ From the "Letter Book" of Troy State Normal College, 1903-1910, p. 131, we find an interesting summary of teaching loads. Teacher of Drawing, fees and salary, \$100; Teacher of Elocution, fees and salary, \$100; Teacher of Vocal Music, fees and salary, \$100; two music teachers received no salary. On page 167 of the same "Letter Book" we find a summary of the enrollment for the college in 1903 with 205 being the total. Out of these, 86 were enrolled in instrumental Music, 22 in Voice Culture, 17 in Art, and 10 in Elocution, indicating that 135 students out of the 205 were enrolled in private classes. Some students undoubtedly were taking both piano and voice but there are no statistics on this duplication.

allied. This is understandable because townspeople studied at the college and frequently were performers in college recitals. Compositions used on these recitals—whether they were at a musical or at the concert hall—featured works from Behr, Engleman, Bohm, Geibel, and Chaminade. Later on they included Chopin, Liszt, and Schubert. Standards of recitals for both the Model School⁴ and the college show considerable improvement in the musical literature used by 1905.⁵

The meeting places in Troy—a town of approximately three thousands people—present a picture of the early entertainments and social affairs of this era. Some of the old halls were Murphree Hall, Michenor's Hall, the Troy Opera House, and Folmar Theatre [Opera House].⁶ The Folmar Theatre collapsed, April 21, 1891, during a rehearsal of the Music Class of Professor T. C. Calloway, a Troy Composer and teacher. This tragedy, with its loss of two lives and with many injured, is still vividly remembered in Troy. The newspaper account of the event is typical of the journalistic reporting found in the newspapers of the time.⁷ The theatre arose from its rubble to function for many years for home talent shows, road shows, and lecturers.

Folmar's Theatre played an important role in the social and cultural life of Troy. Theatres had always been a part of the life of the town. Under the leadership of Frank Folmar, a dashing young man recently returned from Vanderbilt University, the theatre took on the significance usually found only in larger cities. "Opera" was a selling point and not one to be "hushed" for fear of frightening away an audience. The

⁴ Now called the Laboratory School.

⁵ "Letter Book" of Troy Normal College, 1903-1910, p. 282. The commencement recital of this date lists these composers along with some of the lesser known composers: Wagnew, Liszt, Rubenstein, Gottschalk, Leschitezky, Raff, and Wollenhaupt.

⁶ Interview with Mrs. Key Murphree, March 5, 1961. Murphree Hall was on the second floor of the present location of Woods Furniture Company. Minchenor Hall was back of the present location of Byrd Drug Company. Troy Opera House was on the second floor of the building now housing Rosenberg's Department Store. It was used by the Normal School for the Commencement of 1890 when Mrs. Murphree was graduated from the Normal School. The Folmar Theatre—both the old and new buildings were located where the Plaza Hotel now stands.

⁷ Troy Enquirer (filed with a bound volume of the Troy Messenger). May 2, 1891, p. 5. The account of the tragedy is reproduced by means of Verifax and is included in Appendix I.

term "opera" was used rather freely, for many titles are not found in standard lists of operas—but it helped to sell! Road companies played in Troy for a week with a change of program each night. The famous Klaw and Erlanger Agency of New York booked shows here. There were top flight artists and lesser ones. One could attend melodrama or opera. One could hear a good home talent concert or a professional minstrel company. Orators such as Richmond Pierson Hobson and John Temple Graves, Sr., or a local orator such as Dr. E. M. Wright, might speak for two hours.

Tent shows were also a popular form of diversion. Ringling Brothers Circus played in Troy in 1904-1905, with "a cast of 1280 people, half a thousand trapped horses, and 40 elephants."⁸ This seems to point to Troy as a center of activity for even today circuses play only in large cities of strategic geographical location in order to draw a crowd.

Bands always contributed to the culture of Troy. They were either "fiedlin" bands or concert brass bands. One might have heard them at a dance, a concert, a political meeting, or at the drilling of a rifle company. A Band Tournament that drew some four thousand visitors was held in Troy on July 4, 1891. Ten brass bands (one hundred and sixty-two instruments) from the area competed. They also played together as they marched from the trains to the square.⁹ In contrast to the present day, there were always music stores on the square in Troy during this period. This is an indication of the intense interest in instrumental performances at that time and a comparative lack of it today.

The number of "Lyceums" assumed epidemic proportions by 1905. They were given at the Troy Normal School, the City School, and at the theatre. The auditoriums at the Normal and City Schools rang with oratory! The College program, however, was more balanced, with musical attractions such as the Mozart Symphony Club of New York¹⁰ and artists from Atlanta.¹¹

⁸ Troy Messenger, November 8, 1905, p. 4.

⁹ Troy Enquirer, July 4, 1891, p. 5.

¹⁰ Troy Messenger, December 11, 1901, p. 3.

¹¹ Troy Messenger, January 16, 1901, p. 5.

The advent of the "open air" and "veranda" concert is noted in 1902 for the first time. The lawn was the setting with a piano rolled out on the veranda, which served as a stage. This type of event occurred at some of the more impressive homes of the day. Programs featured local and imported talent. Admission was charged in order to raise funds for organizations such as the Ladies Aid Society, the Ladies Civic Improvement Club, and the Epworth League of the Methodist Church.¹²

Newspaper reporting of this era provides a guide to the reader, and makes present day journalism seem dull and unimaginative. Many details are covered and reviews on the musical programs are carried. The names of all persons on the programs and the numbers performed, how much applause was received, size of audience, amount of money collected (in the event it was for fund-raising purposes)—all are fully preserved for the present and the future in the newspapers. The newspaper layout seems to have had neither rhyme nor reason but the news is there! One may find it in large headlines or buried under an ear-tickling alliterative column such as "News Tersely Told," "Items Briefly Sketched," "Local Laconics," or "Pleasing Pointers Plucked for Perusal."

There were many facets in Troy's cultural background. Each one represents a delightful study of the growth of the town. The zeal and activity of this town in the Deep South where "Cotton was King" is a revealing study. The year 1905 seems to have produced such a momentum of activity in the arts that it is only a natural consequence that the young women of Troy should form a club of far-reaching influence and longevity, The Troy Music Study Club. This paper attempts to trace their efforts through the formative years of 1905-1920. The history and activities of another musical group, the MacDowell Club, will be included also. This club existed for a very few years, yet left considerable imprint upon the community. Its relationship to the Music Study Club was quite unique.

¹² Troy Messenger, June 18, 1902, p. 4; August 2, 1905, p. 2; and August 23, 1905, p. 7, indicated that concerts of this type were held at the home of Mrs. J. S. Carroll, Mrs. J. T. Brantley, and Mrs. T. E. Murphree, respectively.

CHAPTER II

TROY MUSIC STUDY CLUB 1905-1920

ORGANIZATION

The Music Study Club was the second study club of its kind to be organized in Troy. It was preceded some eight years by the Nineteenth Century Club, organized in 1897 and federated in 1898. On a Saturday afternoon, October 21, 1905, fifteen women met at the home of Mrs. J. S. Carroll on North Three Notch Street to organize a group which has contributed continuously to the cultural life of Troy since this date.¹ The list of fifteen charter members has been completed from the names appearing on the programs of 1905-1906² and is as follows:

Mrs. J. S. Carroll	Mrs. J. P. Selman
Mrs. W. L. Davids	Mrs. C. S. Tutwiler
Miss Lista Geil	Miss Lutie Wilkerson
Miss Kate Henderson	Miss Mattie Wilkerson
Mrs. Key Murphree ³	Miss Sara Williams
Miss Nellie Murphree	Mrs. F. S. Wood
Mrs. T. E. Murphree	Miss Julia Wood ⁴
Mrs. O. Worthy	

The first officers of the club were: Mrs. J. P. Selman, president; Mrs. O. Worthy, vice-president; Miss Kate Henderson, recording secretary; Mrs. C. S. Tutwiler, corresponding secretary and treasurer. Mrs. Selman was a teacher of piano,

¹ Troy Messenger, October 25, 1905, p. 8.

² In a short paper on the Music Club prepared by Mrs. Key Murphree for the Golden Anniversary in November, 1955, Mrs. Murphree lists the members, officers, and program committee of the first year. There is an error here for her information concerns the second year of the club's existence, since her information is contained in the yearbook of 1906-1907. The paper, however, is nonetheless very valuable because of its personal reminiscences. The paper is filed with the Music Study Club Scrapbook which shall hereafter be referred to as **Scrapbook: Music Study Club**.

³ Mrs. Key Murphree is living and is active in the club today.

⁴ Miss Julia Wood, now Mrs. C. B. Goldthwaite, is living in Troy but is no longer a member of the Music Club.

a pianist, and the organist at the First Baptist Church. She was a pupil of William Sherwood, Chautauqua, New York; Kurt Mueller, Atlanta, Georgia; and Dwight Anderson, of the Andalusia School of Music. Mrs. Selman accompanied at Mont-eagle, Tennessee Assembly and for Edna Thomas, mezzo-soprano, who gave concerts in this area in 1922-1923.⁵ Mrs. Selman died in February of 1949.

In the meeting of the club on February 12, 1949 Mrs. Lane Enzor suggested that a scholarship fund be established in Mrs. Selman's honor. The club voted to name two scholarships in her name in the amount of one hundred dollars each. This is recorded in the Minutes of the Music Study Club, 1941-1953. The gift scholarship was decreased, according to the files of the Music Department at Troy State College, to two fifty-dollar awards in May, 1957. The catalog of Troy State College lists this as the "Mary M. Selman Scholarship."

The name of the organization has remained unchanged since that first meeting in October, 1905: The Music Study Club. The purpose of the club has also remained unchanged:

The object of this Club shall be the study of music in all its phases, and the cultivation of a high musical standard.⁶

The group met on alternate Saturdays. This bi-monthly meeting continued until the year 1936 when meetings were held on monthly dates, a practice which continues to the present time.⁷ Meetings were held in the homes at first, but plans for a hall or a meeting place outside the homes were evident from the club records. For a few months in 1907-1908 the meetings were held in the Elks Hall in the Carroll Building. In 1918 the Gladstone Society of Troy State Normal offered their rooms

⁵ Margaret F. Thomas (compiler), *Musical Alabama*, issued by the Alabama Federation of Music Clubs (Montgomery, Alabama, Paragon Press, 1925), p. 115.

⁶ *Yearbook: Music Study Club, 1906-1907*. The motto of the Club is a quote from Haydn, "Work for great things, except great things, and great things will come to pass." The colors are green and white.

⁷ *Scrapbook: Music Study Club*.

for the meetings. In September of 1920 the club met in the Knights of Pythias Hall.⁸

The number of fifteen charter members swelled to twenty-four members in 1906-1907. New names on the roster are listed as follows: Miss Annie Chaffin (Mrs. Homer Stallings), *Miss Catherine Gardner, *Miss Leo Henderson (Mrs. J. P. Wood), *Miss Evelyn Knox (Mrs. Herbert McLeod), Mrs. James Murphree, *Miss Olive Wiley, *Miss Hazel Wiley (Mrs. Livingston), *Mrs. J. H. Wilkerson, Miss Mary Williams (Mrs. Walter Parks), Miss Annie Mell Wood (Mrs. Casper Boyd), * Miss Kate Murphree (Mrs. Charles Copeland).⁹

Honorary and associate memberships are found in the constitution of the Yearbook of 1919-1920 for the first time.¹⁰ This innovation proved to be a financial bonanza for the club as there were one hundred and one associate members listed, each of whom paid a dollar a year to be non-performing members.¹¹ This fact no doubt necessitated that meetings be held in a hall, —hence the use of the Knights of Pythias Hall.

The roster of members by 1924 included some forty-five names.¹² Some of these were honorary since the list of active members rarely exceeded thirty. Thus it may be noted that this small organization put down a good root system in 1905, and maintained a steady growth in active club membership.

⁸ This hall is still in existence but is not in use. It is on the second floor above the present location of the Troy Drug Company (once the home of the old Princess Theatre). Meetings were later held in the Community Club House. Then the club meetings were moved to the Faculty Lounge of Troy State College, and are held today in the Faculty Lounge of the Student Center at the College.

⁹ Those members marked with an asterisk are still living though not active in Music Club work.

¹⁰ *Scrapbook and Yearbook: Music Study Club, 1919-1920.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² See Appendix II, also Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

ROLE OF TROY MUSIC STUDY CLUB IN THE STATE FEDERATION

By 1915 the many other active music clubs in Alabama created a need for an organized state-wide group. Under the leadership of Mrs. Victor Hanson of Birmingham a permanent organization of music clubs came into existence. Representatives from ten clubs, including the Troy Clubs, met in Birmingham on May 18, 1916 to write a constitution and to elect a slate of officers. Mrs. Hanson was elected the first state president and retained that office for one year. In 1917 the first Music Club Convention was held in Birmingham.

The second convention was held in Gadsden on April 23-25, 1918. It was at this time that the clubs became officially known as the Alabama Federation of Music Clubs. By this time the organizations had announced the winning of the musical setting of the poem "Alabama" (Julia Tutwiler) by Edna Gockel—Gussen. Thus Alabama's state song was born (It was adopted officially by the state in 1931). The first scholarship had been established and Mrs. Oscar Hundley of Birmingham had been chosen as the second state president.¹³ Mrs. S. A. Williams and Mrs. John Wilkerson were delegates from the Troy Club. Mrs. Hubert Brown and Mary Wood were alternates.¹⁴ The third state convention of the Alabama Federation of Music Clubs was held in Troy, May 6-7, 1919 with the Troy Music Study Club and the MacDowell Club [See Chapter III] as hostesses. Thirty delegates, representing eleven clubs, were present. It was at the meeting in Troy that:

1. The Federation voted to wage an active campaign to make music a major study in the high schools of the state.¹⁵
2. Student contests were begun.

¹³ Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 12.

¹⁴ Minutes: Music Study Club, 1918.

¹⁵ This work of the Federation was culminated when the position of state supervisor (or consultant) of (or in) music education was created in 1942. Alton O'Steen was the first appointee, 1942-1944; Paul W. Mathews was second, 1944-1950; and Emerson Van Cleave was appointed in 1950.

3. A State Chorus was planned for the next convention.
4. A prize was offered by the president for a song composed by any of the members.¹⁶

Full accounts of the State Convention are preserved in the Scrapbook of the Music Study Club; business news, concerts, teas, and so forth appeared in write-ups in the Birmingham News which was the official newspaper for the circulation of Federation news; and in the program booklet. The convention convened at the Elks Hall on the third floor of the Folmar Building. Rooms for banquets and luncheons were set up on the same floor through courtesy of the Woodmen and Odd Fellows who occupied the same floor.¹⁷

During the months preceding the convention the minutes of the Club reveal the rapid succession of activities over and above the regular meetings. These ladies were vigorous! There had been a World War I and an Armistice, so on February 22, 1919 the Music Study Club gave a Liberty Tea.¹⁸ The proceeds from this concert went for the support of a French war orphan¹⁹ and for the purchase of a Liberty Bond (\$12.50). Appropriately, this program featured American composers. In March the University of Alabama Glee Club was presented in concert with the usual reception and dance following. The Glee Club was under the direction of Tom Garner (Uncle Tom to many alumni). The proceeds from this concert also went to the support of the war orphan. Plans were made and completed to present Miss Clementine Marlin in her graduate recital. She was from Dawson, Georgia and a pupil of Sir Edward Baxter Perry. Lastly there was a State Federation of Music Clubs to entertain. Quick money was the order of the day, regardless of culture! So, just four days

¹⁶ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

¹⁷ This building now stands at Elm and Market Streets except for the third floor which was not built back after a damaging fire.

¹⁸ See Appendix III.

¹⁹ Mireille Deis, of 46 Rue Nationale, Petit Querilly, Seine Inferieues, was the war orphan. A letter from the orphan to the club is found in the Minutes of the club for March, 1919. See Appendix III.

prior to the Senate Convention, a Victory Minstrel²⁰ was given on May 2 at City School Auditorium. Mrs. Fred Jernigan and Mrs. Bailey Talbot were in charge. On this printed program many laymen made their debut. One sees a consciousness of our World War I conquest for both the tea and the concert used "Victory" or "Liberty" as the key word in the title.

By the time the fourth annual convention was held in Dothan, April 4-7, 1920, the number of delegates had grown; the first state chorus was born; a Junior Department had been created with twelve junior clubs; and Mrs. Key Murphree of the Troy Club was elected as the third president of the State Federation.²¹ In her message to the Federation Clubs one point that she stressed was that at least one program a year should be devoted to American compositions and one program exclusively to Alabama compositions. Mrs. Murphree still retains this interest in Alabama composers, and always presents a very fine paper on the native composers at the club meetings devoted to Alabama Music.

At the Convention in Mobile over which Mrs. Murphree presided, twenty-three federated clubs and fifty delegates were present. It may be noted that the work of the State Federation had grown to a larger and more stable group under the leadership of Mrs. Murphree of the Troy Club. As president of the Federation she gave twenty-five dollars for a prize to be awarded to the composer of the best original song. This prize was won by Mrs. W. S. Wilson of Dothan for her song, "Hi Mr. Sunshine!" Mrs. Murphree's work is summarized thus:

Mrs. Key Murphree

Troy

President A.F.M.C., 1920-1921

Third President at Dothan Convention

"After a year of splendid results as executive, she presided over the Mobile convntion with such poise, tact, and ability that it was a great disappointment to all when on account of urgent home responsibilities she declined the unanimous re-nomination." She prepared a most compre-

²⁰ See Appendix III.

²¹ Mrs. Murphree is the only member with an unbroken membership from the beginning of the Club to the present.

hensive history of the Federation which has been preserved as one of its most valuable records.

Mrs. Murphree studied voice and piano at Judson College from which she graduated in piano. She also studied in the East.

"She is a woman of pleasing personality, a brilliant mind, and a handsome appearance."

Quotation given from Wordsworth:

"A perfect woman, nobly planned,
To warn [sic], to comfort, and command."²²

It is self-evident that the Troy Music Study Club was very active in the State Federation. In addition to Mrs. Murphree as State Federation President and Board Member, other contributions by various members of the club to the work of the Federation include:

Mrs. W. L. Davids

Vice President, 1919-1920

Chairman of Printing, 1920

Chairman of Junior Clubs, 1920²³

Chairman of Education and Scholarships, 1924²⁴

Mrs. Fred Jernigan²⁵

State Editor, Birmingham News, 1919-1920

Chairman, American Music, 1918-1919

Corresponding Secretary, 1920-1921

Mrs. W. R. Lancaster²⁶

Recording Secretary 1919-1920; 1920-1921

President of Fifth District, 1924

Mrs. J. S. Helton

Club Extension, 1919-1920

Local Club President for Troy Convention, 1919

²² Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

²³ Scrapbook: Music Study Club, a clipping from the Birmingham News, May 16, 1920.

²⁴ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

²⁵ Scrapbook: Music Study Club.

²⁶ Member of Troy Club 1910 until her marriage. Formerly Eddie Lee Shackelford. Later a State President, year of 1932-1934, and now a member of the Music Study Club and on the personnel staff of Troy State College.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

The civic contributions of this club ranged from the concert hall to blackface minstrels and auto shows, from the study of grand opera to fiddlers' contests, from the purchase of a grand piano to the purchase of draperies. A close relationship existed between the other clubs in town and members gave freely of their time and talent.

On October 9, 1907 a reception was given by them for the delegates of the Alabama Federation of Women's Clubs which convened in Troy.²⁷ The Elks Club called for their assistance in raising money for the building fund. A special concert of "Italian Music" was given by club members in May, 1907.²⁸ This program consisted of the works of Verdi, Donizetti, and Rossini. The full range of Italian opera was covered—apparently in translation. Printers, even then, had difficulty with spelling (Listz for Liszt). Admission was fifty cents. The male citizenry gave the ladies a big chance to show their erudition—and arose to the occasion. Contributions were always made on "THE BIG DAY" for all clubs of Troy—Reciprocity Day. This was the one day when all efforts towards culture converged in a mass meeting of all Troy Study Clubs. The Music Club contributed the musical portion of the program.

The Troy Normal School was a cultural center for Troy and vicinity. Its music faculty was always on the membership list of the Club. Through common objectives the work of the school and that of cultural leaders came together. Members of the Club gave a concert (presented for two nights) to raise money for the purchase of pictures for the College.²⁹ The Music Club bought and presented to the Library of the Normal School a set of Groves Musical Dictionary for use by the College and "for use in their research on club programs."³⁰ In 1911 the Normal School started its "Rural School Lyceums," a series of entertainments organized and financed by the College. The programs consisted of lectures, readings, music, and discussions. There might be a lecture on topics such as "Manual Training,"

²⁷ Yearbook: Music Study Club, 1907-1908. Home of Mrs. F. S. Woods, College Street, Troy.

²⁸ See Appendix III.

²⁹ Troy Messenger, March 24, 1909, p. 4.

³⁰ Scrapbook: Music Study Club. From a clipping.

"Magic and Mirth," or Oral Hygiene" by a local dentist.³¹ Again, only music might be featured. These programs continued for about four years. They were given up when it became burdensome to the faculty. "It had a wonderful influence in developing community spirit and in popularizing the College."³² The Music Club cooperated in presenting some of these lyceums or recitals at various places.³³ The Ku Klux Klan filed in during one concert to see that the activities were "acceptable," lamps on the wheezing organ shook, and pianos with sticking keys were out of tune—but the shows went on!³⁴ Programs were given for the College assemblies. The Gladstone Society—one of the two literary societies at the Normal—offered their meeting place to the Music Club due to an expanding membership which could not be accommodated in the homes. The room was used for the first time in the fall of 1918.³⁵ In the early years the Music Club had given short musical concerts prior to the program of these literary societies so their bread "cast upon the waters" had returned at a crucial time.

It is noted in the Yearbooks which are available that many Easter and Christmas programs were given and designated as church recitals or concerts. These were a cooperative effort of the choirs of the churches under the leadership of the Music Club as sacred music was presented to the public.

When "moving picture shows" made their advent in Troy many types of salesmanship were used to attract customers. Concerts were frequently given at the beginning of and between the "one and two reelers." Compositions appearing on these early musicals ranged from classical to the hit tunes of New York shows. Dishes and other enticements were also offered.³⁶ In many instances the advertisements emphasized the musical program which was to be given rather than the name of the

³¹ Troy Messenger, January 29, 1913, p. 9.

³² Edward M. Shackelford, *First Fifty Years of Troy State Teachers College, Troy, Ala. 1887-1937* (Montgomery, Ala.: Paragon Press, 1937), p. 136.

³³ See Appendix III.

³⁴ Mrs. Key Murphree, "History of Music Study Club," in *Scrapbook: Music Study Club*.

³⁵ Minutes of the called meeting of the Club. July 24, 1918.

³⁶ Interview with Mr. Clyde Fields, March 3, 1961, manager of the Royal Theatre. He still has some of the dishes. A three-piece orchestra, consisting of Herman Moll, violin; Mr. Ritter, drums; and Norma Worthy, piano, was used. This theatre (for picture shows) was located in the building presently occupied by the Top Dollar Store.

picture (or pictures).³⁷ A program is found in the *Scrapbook* of the Musical Study Club.

World War I found the Club bounding with enthusiasm and patriotism. It cooperated when asked by the State Federation of Music Clubs to entertain at the camps (Camp Sheridan, Hut 58).³⁸ Again by request from the Federation the group sponsored a Fiddlers Convention of Pike County at the City School. Proceeds from this were \$90.75, part of which went to send winners to Montgomery. The balance of the receipts went to the Red Cross. The Club helped the Red Cross put on a Community Sing. From the above it may be seen that the activities of the Club ranged "From Mt. Olympus to the River Styx"—but all in the name of a worthy cause! The purchase of Liberty Bonds and Thrift Stamps are also mentioned in the minutes as well as the adoption of war orphan. In the years immediately following the end of World War I the Club was active in a community Sing on Armistice Day. A Troy High School Orchestra is mentioned for the first time in this program.³⁹ Mention has already been made of the Liberty Tea and a Victory Minstrel which reflects a rejoicing over the end of the "war to end all wars," as well as to indicate a great awakened pride in all things American, including culture.⁴⁰

By the year 1920 the Club had been on such a civic spending spree that it found itself confronted with the necessity of raising a sizeable amount of money. Two projects carried on almost simultaneously were the purchase of draperies for the windows and curtains for the stage at the Troy High School, and the purchase of a "Mason-Hamlin" grand piano for the use of the club.

The curtains cost about \$750, representing a sizeable responsibility. The ingenious ladies put on an elaborate auto show—this was *the new thing*. *Newspapers* announced the purchase by each new owner of an auto with all the publicity given to the birth of a baby, a wedding, or death. The long

³⁷ See Appendix III.

³⁸ *Troy Messenger*, June 26, 1918, p. 5. The concert was given on June 19, 1918.

³⁹ *Troy Messenger*, November 17, 1920, p. 5. The date of the program was November 11, 1920.

⁴⁰ See Appendix III.

list of entries for March 26, 1920, proclaims a society here with financial status. Mrs. Charles Henderson (wife of ex-Governor Charles Henderson) won the prize but generously handed her prize money back to the Club.⁴¹ On March 3, 1921 the ladies again bent in the direction of a minstrel show for some quick money and \$389 was realized on this. In July of the same year the curtains were paid for.⁴² This program received community support and represented an impressive array of amateur talent.⁴³

The Club piano was a dream of the Club envisioned at the time of its organization in 1905. Coupled to this dream was that of a hall for meetings. The Knights of Pythias made their rooms available as a meeting place and the piano was properly unveiled on September 20, 1920.⁴⁴ When the Music Club celebrated its Fiftieth Anniversary in November, 1955, Mrs. Key Murphree read the speech she had intended to read at the unveiling of the piano in 1920. Because of Mrs. Murphree's illness at the earlier time it was read by Lucile Key (Thompson). The first payment came from a war bond. "For three successive times we were *snowed under* in our effort to do something to make money for another payment."⁴⁵ She continued, listing their successful money-making projects as follows: a high class vaudeville;⁴⁶ benefit concerts given in neighboring towns; money raised from a hog sale through the generosity of Folmar and Sons; and many rummage sales. She states:

So we really feel that we have not been a burden and a nuisance to the public. We believe that they have had value received in every instance. While it has not been an easy task, it has been a lot of fun....

⁴¹ Troy Messenger, June 6, 1920, p. 6, and Scrapbook: Music Study Club. The date of the show was May 26, 1920.

⁴² Scrapbook: Music Study Club.

⁴³ See Appendix III.

⁴⁴ The Club is still using this piano. The instrument is used on all Club programs and is available for the use of college programs. As previously stated the piano is now in the Faculty Lounge of the Student Center of Troy State College. It has received good care and is perhaps the best piano available for concerts at this time.

⁴⁵ This paper is found in the Scrapbook: Music Study Club.

⁴⁶ See Appendix III.

In placing the piano in our club room we feel that the Music Study Club is entering upon the fulfillment of its aims for the musical uplift of the city. For it is the intention of the Club to bring artists to this hall...so that it will be in reach of music lovers... that they may enjoy these things with us. In this way we hope to build a solid foundation of musical appreciation for Troy.⁴⁷

The record of a concert by a visiting artist is found as early as 1907 when the Club presented Severin O Frank, pianist.⁴⁸ This type of activity on the part of the Club was not prominent again until after World War I. Then came a "Piano-forte Lecture Recital" by Sir Edward Baxter Perry, blind pianist of Boston;⁴⁹ Lada—a dancer assisted by the Pawling Trio (Strings); Mme. Bessie Branion, formerly of Chicago Grand Opera; and Edna Thomas, mezzo-soprano and President of the Louisiana State Federation.⁵⁰ There is an announcement of the appearance of a violinist by the name of Axel Skovgaard for April 5.⁵¹ The paper quotes his information on the German people although he was a Dane. He quotes Mrs. Richard Wagner "as being unable to greet any guests because of lack of fuel....; the German people are starving...." The only intimation as to the fate of this concert is found in a handwritten note in the Scrapbook to the effect that the concert was called off because of adverse reports.

In the minutes of the Club for March 15, 1919 mention is made of bringing some entertainment to Troy by the New York Metropolitan Opera Company with tickets to be fifty cents and one dollar each. No further evidence of these plans has been found.

It is evident that at the turn of the century quite enough had been done by one small group of young ladies and matrons, many of whom were busy with their families and equally as busy with church work—choir, missionary circles, and Sunday School classes, together with literary clubs.

⁴⁷ Paper by Mrs. Murphree, Scrapbook: Music Study Club.

⁴⁸ See Appendix V.

⁴⁹ See Appendix V.

⁵⁰ Scrapbook: Music Study Club.

⁵¹ Scrapbook: Music Study Club.

PROGRAMS

The organizational meeting of the Troy Music Study Club was held on October 21, 1905, and two weeks later, on November 4, 1905, this same group presented a program on Schumann. These pioneers were ladies of intent and purpose! The use of the word "study" in the name of the Club had been intentional. Programs for the first year were typed, except for one instance, written in longhand. These first-year programs are included in this paper for the sake of historical reporting and to preserve the records in a better way since they are becoming quite worn.⁵² It is interesting to note that vocal solos, duets, and so forth were simply listed as "selected;" but when a piano solo was to be presented on the program topic, it read on the program: "Piano solo. . .with Interpretations." It is noted that members were to sing, play, or read. This is a reminder of times when young ladies were trained in the art of elocution. Program topics for the first year included:

- Schumann (two programs)
- Chopin (two programs)
- Mendelssohn (two programs)
- Schubert (one program)
- Opera (three programs)
- Spring Music (one program)
- American Composers (one program)
- Wedding Music (one program)
- Lullabies (one program)
- Musical Games (one program)

A choral practice was included on the third program of the new club. Current events in music used for roll call or roll call was sometimes answered by factual information on the program topic.

An interesting approach to the study of music in the early years is found in the inclusion of the "Query Box." The source of this study is obscure but a copy of it is found in the *Scrapbook*.⁵³ In the *Yearbook* of 1907-1908 it was included

⁵² See Appendix IV, programs from *Scrapbook*, Music Study Club.

⁵³ See Appendix IV. *Scrapbook*: Music Study Club.

in the printed programs. This represents a definitely serious approach to musical understanding. Questions covered topics of music history. Some illustrations chosen at random are: "What was the Gregorian System?" "What is the meaning of polphony?" "Who were the Minne-singers?" "Give a sketch of the life of Bach; Mozart; Bethoven." These ladies were serious in their study of music.

Over the span of years the programs present a consistent approach to the study of standard musical literature. The programs reflect the use of history textbooks and source references on American Music.⁵⁴ In fact, the programs seem quite heavy and of such length that one marvels at the span of attention of the members and of their energy since regular programs always occurred on schedule regardless of many other activities. [See section on Activities.] To have some nineteen members of the program in one afternoon by a club whose membership totalled twenty-four to thirty members presents quite an achievement. Club chorus and choral practices were regular features of the programs as we find it today.

The study of countries and their composers gave unity to the programs. There was a good coverage on classical and romantic composers. The works of the late nineteenth century composers were frequently used. In the early years there were more numbers for the piano than for the voice, but a fairly even balance is observed in later years. The use of violin and some clarinet and saxophone numbers by 1917 reflects an instrumental program which was under way in the Troy High School under the direction of Herman Moll. Opera was well represented. From the titles one can assume they were in translation. If the ladies wished to study an aria which was in a role for the male voice, they sang it. Piano transcriptions of vocal music were frequently used. It is apparent that this club was a "study" club.

⁵⁴ Yearbooks of 1910-1911. Baltzell's *History of Music* was used on these programs this source: Wardwell, Mrs. Fredrick Schuyler, *Plan of Study on Musical History: American Music, Autobriographical Sketches and Music for Programs*, (Highland Terrace, Stamford, Connecticut: 1920). A copy of this work was located among the Yearbooks for the Music Study Club. See Appendix IV.

Programs were always in printed form during these years,⁵⁵ in contrast to the programs of later years, when the majority were mimeographed and had handsome covers. The first of these appeared in the *Yearbook* of 1932-1933.⁵⁶ In the printed yearbooks through the year 1920 the constitution and by-laws were also printed. Throughout the years, and especially in the early years, great stress was laid by constitutional law on: regular attendance; fines in regard to unexcused absences; program responsibility and the subsequent fines for failure to perform. An article in the *Troy Messenger* reflects this practice in the writeup of the meeting of February 2, 1908, as follows:

The executive committee of the club met immediately after adjournment to pass upon excuses of absence and tardiness on the part of the members and the fines for the same . . . , Mrs. J. S. Carroll, president of the club, who was in Montgomery Wednesday to the Ben-Hur Matinee was given an honorable acquittal from the usual penalty for absence.⁵⁷

Laws for fines were followed with due regard for the democratic process—no favoritism. Mrs. Carroll was an influential woman of Troy—a civic-minded, talented, wealthy club and church woman.

In this early period no Alabama Day programs are found since the official proclamation for this occasion was given on December 14, 1923 by Governor W. W. Brandon with the seal of Mr. Sid H. Blan, a Trojan and publisher of the *Troy Messenger*, as Secretary of State.⁵⁸ Work in the Federation emphasized this since great stress was laid on original composition by the members. Each state president offered prize money for original songs during these early years.

⁵⁵ The office of historian was created in November of 1920 by the Federation. Mrs. W. L. Davids, acting for Miss Catherine Gardner, started accumulating back materials for the fifteen years that the club had existed. The material is not filed in sequence since the material was discovered or unearthed over a period of time. Yearbooks for nine different years are available at this time, in addition to a good coverage of the club meetings as reported in the *Troy Messenger*.

⁵⁶ This no doubt reflects the Depression Years.

⁵⁷ Scrapbook: Music Study Club.

⁵⁸ Thomas, op. cit., pp. 126-127.

The ladies were a study group and their programs were of high quality. However, when the necessity arose to raise money in a hurry—and it frequently did for these ambitious ladies—they could adjust to a much lower level: minstrels, fiddlers contests, and so forth.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ See section on Activities, also Appendix III on Programs for Minstrels.

CHAPTER III

THE MacDOWELL CLUB

By the year 1917 the musical output in Troy was becoming American in flavor and this was especially true in the activities of the only Music Study Club then in existence. Because of pressure from the State Federation about American and Alabama compositions, and the great wave of patriotism following World War I, the programs for 1916-1919 featured American music together with European composers. The programs of 1920-1921 were devoted exclusively to the study of American music.¹ The minutes of the Music Study Club stated that "It is more appropriate that our recital be given on American instead of German music."²

This patriotism and the worship of "Americana," which included the American composer Edward MacDowell in particular, led to an interesting development in Troy. MacDowell had died in 1908, but recognition of his worth as a composer had come to him during his lifetime. His marriage to a woman who ranks as a second Clara Schumann increased his fame after his death for she immediately set up the MacDowell Memorial Association and the Peterboro Colony in New Hampshire. She gave lectures and piano recitals to raise funds for this memorial. The State Federation of Music Clubs had already stressed the emphasis on American music and Mrs. MacDowell appeared at the Biennial Convention of the National Federation of Music Clubs³ in Birmingham in 1917.

As the scene in Troy is examined there is found not one Music Club but two! The MacDowell Music Club was organized on January 3, 1917. Of the fourteen members listed, eleven were members of the Music Study Club. Other members of the Music Study Club joined later. It resembled what politicians call a "splinter" organization. These women, who were mem-

¹ Yearbooks available.

² Minutes, Music Study Club, April 7, 1917.

³ The National and State Federation of Music Clubs still includes the MacDowell Colony as one of its projects and supports it with funds. This will be found in State Handbooks and space for reporting each club's contribution is found on the rating sheet which must be filed before a state convention by each club. The Music Study Club is a yearly contributor.



Picture of the MacDowell Club. Front row, left to right, Miss Lillian Brantley (Mrs. Clarence Wiley), Mrs. James Wiley, Mrs. W. L. Davids, Miss Nell Murphree (Motley), Mrs. Walter Walters. Back row, left to right, Mrs. Bailey Talbot, Jr., Miss Mary Wood (Mrs. H. A. Porter), Mrs. C. B. Goldthwaite, Mrs. Eugene Chapman, Mrs. Eugene Murphree, Mrs. Carl Mott, Mrs. Fred Jernigan. This picture was found in the "memorabilia" of Mrs. Fred Jernigan and was presented for use in this paper by her daughter, Mrs. H. T. McKinnon of Troy. Mrs. Jernigan died in the fall of 1960.

bers of two musical organizations, did not want just a little study of American Music—they wanted *All* of the study to be on *American Music*! The purpose of the MacDowell Club was to promote American music. The motto was “*Labore est Ovaré.*” The colors were red, white, and blue.⁴ The first printed yearbook, as well as those that followed, pictured MacDowell on the cover. The club was activated through the efforts of Mrs. Fred Jernigan, an active, dynamic club woman who successfully completed whatever she attempted.⁵ These characteristics remained with her during all of her active life.

The first study program which can be found was on October 3, 1917.⁶ Charter members listed were: Miss Lillian Brantley, Mrs. Leo Bashinsky, Mrs. Charles Brannen (marked out), Mrs. Eugene Chapman, Mrs. W. L. Davids, Mrs. Lane Enzor, Mrs. Max Folmar, Mrs. C. B. Goldthwaite, Mrs. Jake Henderson (marked out), Mrs. Fred Jernigan, Mrs. V. P. McKinley, Mrs. Eugene Murphree, Mrs. B. M. Talbot, Miss Mary Wood, Mrs. James Wiley, Mrs. Walter Walters. Officers for the first year were: Mrs. W. L. Davids, President; Mrs. James Wiley, Vice-President; Mrs. V. P. McKinley, Secretary; Mrs. C. B. Goldthwaite, Treasurer; Mrs. Fred Jernigan, Accompanist; Miss Mary Wood, Reporter.

There is evidence that the club functioned immediately after the organizational date on January 3, 1917, although no yearbook for the first half year of its existence has been

⁴ The bound volumes of newspapers that are available are lacking in much needed information on the MacDowell Club. This may be due to the fact that many issues now bound were weekly. There is printed evidence, however, of many activities and much credit should be given to the efficient work of the club's first reporter, Miss Mary Wood, now Mrs. H. A. Porter, 414 Wills Road, Connellsville, Pennsylvania.

After many interviews which proved interesting but which did not yield valid data, Mrs. C. B. Goldthwaite, sister of Miss Wood and also a member of the MacDowell Club, wrote to her. Almost by return mail there came a packet of yearbooks and material evidently collected for a scrapbook.

Mrs. Porter (Miss Wood) has been an invalid for many years and for the last twelve years has been blind. Even so she could locate this material by telling her son the exact spot where it was stored.

The sources for this part of the research have come from Mrs. Porter. In some instances other than can be found, and will be so designated.

Scrapbook material, which has been given to this writer, will be preserved and kept for future reference.

⁵ Interview with Mrs. Walter Walters, April 22, 1961 in answer to a specific inquiry pertaining to the founding of this club.

⁶ Yearbook: MacDowell Study Club, 1917-1918.

located. The second meeting, February 7, 1917, was held in the home of Mrs. C. B. Goldthwaite. The theme of the program was—MacDowell!

Shortly afterwards the young club accomplished a *coup d'etat*! Under the auspices of the MacDowell Club, Mrs. Edward MacDowell was presented in a piano recital Saturday, April 14, 1917.⁷ She was coming to Birmingham for the National Biennial Convention but this club was the first to ask her to perform in Troy.⁸ The City School auditorium was replete with Steinway, flags, and a huge portrait of MacDowell, framed and daped with flags "in recognition of the Americanism of the MacDowells." The programs were decorated with a tricolor bow. A short talk on the Peterboro Colony preceded the recital, which consisted of the works of MacDowell.

She held the enraptured attention of her audience, while she gave a faultless, and nothing short of marvelous, interpretation of the masterpieces of her illustrious husband.⁹

A six o'clock buffet was given by the club in honor of Mrs. MacDowell at the home of Mrs. James Wiley on Murphree Street. "In accordance with the spirit of the times, patriotism was the prevailing note of the decorations in the dining room."¹⁰ A shower of flags waved from the chandelier. There was a red, white, and blue floral piece for the table. Red, white, and blue streamers were draped from the chandelier to the corners of the table. Sandwiches with tri-colored ribbons, and ice cups bearing souvenirs of flags added to the decorative motive. Members of the Music Study Club were invited to share her company that night at an informal evening during which Mrs. MacDowell autographed a large flag for the club. They in return, autographed her souvenir flag. An illustrious past and an illustrious person had visited the new club. Mrs. MacDowell was made an honorary member of the club in 1918.

The two clubs with over-lapping membership worked together in a cooperative manner. Their viewpoints were differ-

⁷ Troy Messenger, April 11, 1917, p. 2.

⁸ See Appendix V.

⁹ Scrapbook: MacDowell Study Club.

¹⁰ Ibid.

ent only in point of emphasis on the program material. Yet even this was not true during 1920 for both clubs studied American music. The MacDowell Club invited the Music Study Club to special anniversary programs on MacDowell. The groups worked together as hostess clubs when the Alabama Federation of Music Clubs met in Troy for the MacDowell Club was also federated. The two clubs presented jointly the Victory Minstrel on May 2, 1919 in order to make money for the entertainment of the Federation."

The constitution of this new club indicated that meetings were held on the first Wednesday of each month from October through May. Among the composers used for their study programs were: MacDowell (every year), Nevin, Beach, DeKoven, Herbert, Cadman, Perry, Hadley, Chadwick, and Ware.

It should not be forgotten that the majority of these ladies were also working up programs in the other club, yet in 1917 this new club could find time for a concert at the Y.M.C.A. Hut at Camp Sheridan (Montgomery) whenever the war effort demanded it.¹² The performers received an ovation at the close of this program.

At first glance it seems ironic to note that these clubs may have had a spirit of competition since there was a duplication of membership. Perhaps this was true for an examination of the programs reveals that the Music Study Club in March of the very next year brought Sir Edward Baxter Perry to Troy for a recital.¹³ The stage had been set whereby club members were conscious of famous names in the music world, and were willing to help bring them to Troy—especially if they were outstanding American composers and performers. This paved the way for the appearance of Charles Wakefield Cadman and Princess Tsianina in an all-American music program a few years later.¹⁴

It has not been established whether the club functioned beyond 1919-1920. A yearbook of programs exists for this date.¹⁵ Former members believe that the club was in existence

¹¹ See Appendix III.

¹² Scrapbook: MacDowell Music Club.

¹³ See Appendix V.

¹⁴ Princess Tsianina, a mezzo-soprano, was an American Indian princess.

for three or four yars. The yearbook of the Music Study Club for 1920-1921 includes some names which had heretofore appeared only on the MacDowell Club roll. The programs of the Music Study Club (1920-1921) were on American composers. A Tercentenary Program (1620-1920) is included. It is the writer's opinion that perhaps by the fall of 1920 there no longer existed a real need for the MacDowell Club whose prime purpose was to foster American music. The ladies possibly were exhausted from this double exposure to American culture. Perhaps one music study club was adequate now.

¹⁵ This yearbook was loaned to the writer by Mrs. Walter Walters of Troy during the interview with her on April 26, 1961.

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Personal Interview with Mrs. C. B. Goldthwaite, several dates.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ALABAMA TERRITORY

(The following documents are reprinted with the intention of collecting in one place the bills and acts relative to the creation of the Alabama Territory by separating it from the western part of the old Mississippi Territory. From time to time several bills were introduced in Congress to provide for the admission of the whole Mississippi Territory or to divide it along various north-south lines. These documents have been selected because through them can be traced the final stages of establishing the present boundary of the State of Alabama. The first five are copied directly from Clarence Edwin Carter's *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 8-10, 17-19, 36-39, 53-57, 291-293. Dr. Carter's footnotes are also copied verbatim. The Alabama enabling act is copied from the *Acts of the Fifteenth Congress of the United States, 1819*, pp. 39-43.—Editor)

A BILL TO ESTABLISH THE TERRITORY OF MOBILE

[NA:HF, 14 Cong., 2 sess.:Printed]

H.R. 31.

December 23, 1816.

Read twice and committed to the committee of the whole House, on the bill "to enable the people of the western part of the Mississippi Territory to form a Constitution and State Government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States."

A BILL

To establish a separate Territorial Government for the eastern part of the Mississippi Territory.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That all that part of the Mississippi Territory which lies within the following boundaries, to wit: Beginning at the point where the line of the thirty-first degree of north latitude intersects the Perdido river, thence east to the western boundary line of the State of Georgia, thence along said line to the southern boundary line of the State of Tennessee, thence west along said boundary line to the Tennessee river, thence up the same to the mouth of Bear creek, thence by a direct line to the north west corner of Washington county, thence southwardly along the line dividing the counties of Washington, Baldwin, and Mobile, on the east, from Wayne, Green, and Jackson, on the west, to the Gulf of Mexico, thence eastwardly, including all islands within six leagues of the shore, to the Perdido river, and thence up the same to the beginning, shall, for the purpose of temporary government, constitute a separate Territory, and be called "Mobile."

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted, That all offices which may exist, and all laws which may be in force, in said Territory within the boundaries above described, at the time this act shall go into effect, shall continue to exist and be in force, until otherwise provided by law. And the President of the*

United States shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint a Governor and Secretary for the said Mobile Territory, who shall respectively exercise the same powers, perform the same duties, and receive for their services the same compensation, as are provided for the Governor and Secretary of the Mississippi Territory.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That the Governor to be appointed under the authority of this act, shall, immediately after entering into office, convene, at the town of St. Stephens, on the Tombigby river, such of the members of the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of the Mississippi Territory, as may then be the representatives from the several counties within the limits of the Territory to be established by this act; and the said members shall constitute the Legislative Council and House of Representatives for the aforesaid Mobile Territory, whose powers, in relation to the said Territory, shall be, until the expiration of the term for which they shall have been chosen, or until Congress shall otherwise provide, the same in all respects as are now possessed by the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of the Mississippi Territory. And the town of St. Stephens shall be the seat of government for the said Mobile Territory, until it shall be otherwise ordered by the legislature thereof.

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That this act shall commence and be in force so soon as the convention, the appointment thereof hath been authorized by Congress at their present session, shall have formed a Constitution and State Government for that part of the Mississippi Territory lying west of the Territory herein described; of which act of convention the Governor of the Mississippi Territory, for the time being, shall give immediate notice to the President of the United States, who shall thereupon forthwith proceed to the execution of the powers vested in him by the second section of this act; but in case such convention shall fail to form a Constitution and State Government, as aforesaid, then this act shall, in all its provisions, become null and void and of no effect.

Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That all persons who shall be in office within the Territory hereby established, when the said convention shall have formed a Constitution

and State Government, as aforesaid, shall continue to hold and exercise their offices, in all respects as if this act never had been made; and the Governor and Secretary of the Mississippi Territory, for the time being, shall continue to exercise the duties of their respective offices, in relation to the Territory hereby established, until a Governor and Secretary shall be appointed for the Territory of Mobile, in pursuance of this act.

Sec. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That all judicial process, in the said Territory of Mobile, shall be issued and bear teste as heretofore; nor shall any suit be discontinued, nor the proceeding in any cause be stayed, or in anywise affected by any thing contained in this act, or in the act entitled "An act to enable the people of the western part of the Mississippi Territory to form a Constitution and State Government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States."⁹

⁹ Approved Mar. 1, 1817 (3 STAT. 348-349). See post, p. 17. Filed with the above is a MS. copy of the same bill which contains the following endorsement: "H. R.—N^o31 A Bill to establish a separate territorial government for the Eastern part of Mississippi Territory Dec. 23—1816 Read twice & committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the Bill, to Enable the people of the Western part of the Mississippi territory to form a constitution & State government, and for the admission of such state into the Union on an equal footing with the original States—Lattimore Same Com Whole as last".

A BILL TO ESTABLISH THE TERRITORY OF MOBILE

[NA:SF, 14 Cong., 2 sess:Printed]

S. 15.

IN SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES. *January 17, 1817.*

Mr. Tait, from the committee to whom the subject was referred, reported the following Bill, which was read and passed to the second reading.⁴⁵

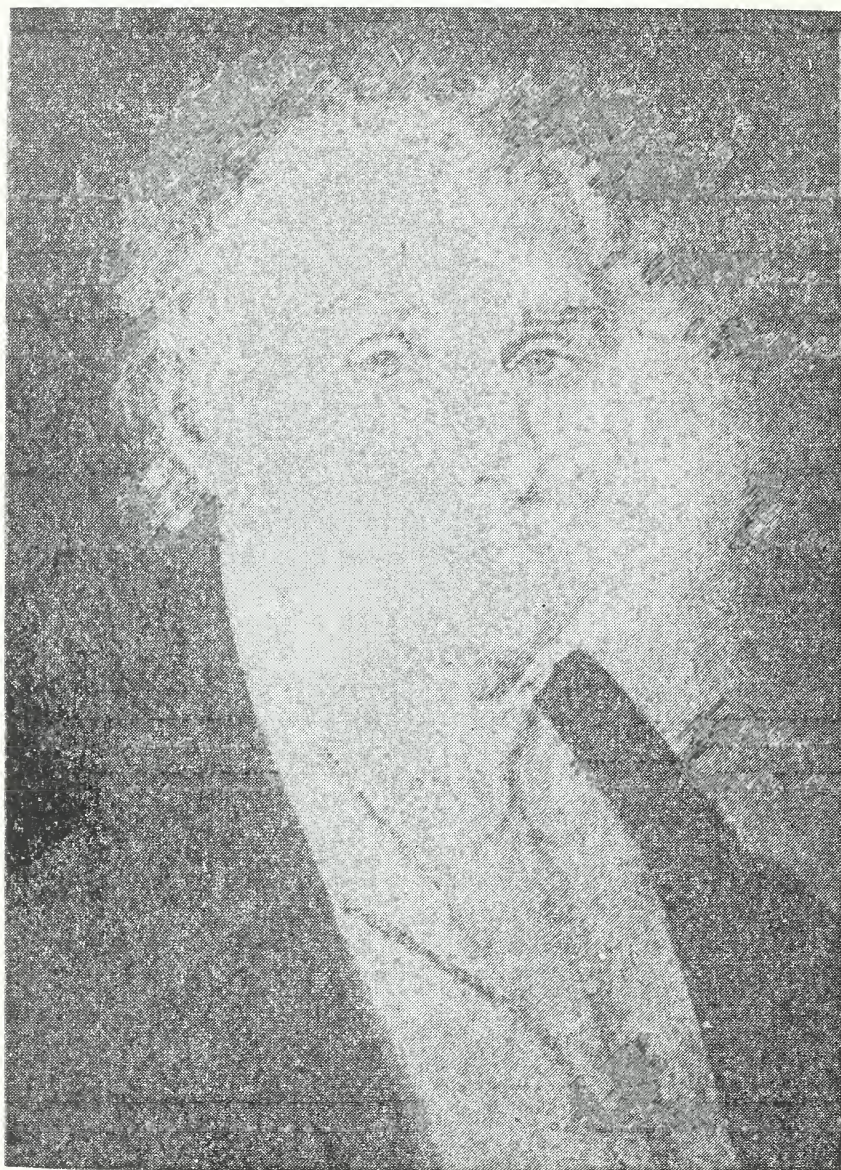
A BILL

To establish a separate Territorial Government for the eastern part of the Mississippi Territory.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That all that part of the Mississippi Territory which lies within the following boundaries, to wit: Beginning at the point where the line of thirty-first degree of north latitude intersects the Perdido river, thence east to the western boundary line of the State of Georgia, thence along said line to the southern boundary line of the State of Tennessee, thence west along

⁴⁵ On Jan. 7, 1817, on motion of Senator Tait, of Georgia, a select committee of the Senate was appointed to consider the memorial of the Mississippi Territorial Legislature of Dec. 5, 1815 (*Terr. Papers*, Miss., VI, 593-594). This step parallels similar action by the House of Representatives, ante, p. 8. To the same committee was referred, on Jan. 8, 1817, the petition of certain members of the Territorial Legislature for admission without division (*Terr. Papers*, op. cit., pp. 744-746). On Jan. 17, Tait reported the above bill together with a second bill to enable the Territory to form a Constitution and State Government for the western portion. The former was read a second time on Jan. 20, and on Jan. 30, after consideration in Committee of the the Whole, it was amended, and, the Senate concurring, the bill was ordered engrossed and was read a third time. But on Jan. 31 the engrossed bill was referred to a select committee on motion of its author and on Feb. 4 a substitute bill was reported, *post*, p. 36. See *Senate Journal*, 14 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 123, 132, 145, 168, 190; *Annals*, 14 Cong., 2 sess., 52, 64, 71, 74, 89, 91, 100.

There are certain aspects in the evolution of this legislation which cannot now be resolved. We do not know, for example, what amendments were proposed and adopted, nor why the substitute bill was introduced. Whatever debate the various bills may have evoked has not been reported, and no relevant papers in the form of amendments and reports have been discovered. For the same reason we do not know why the House of Representatives shelved its own bill of Dec. 23, 1816. For further citations, see *post*, p. 36.



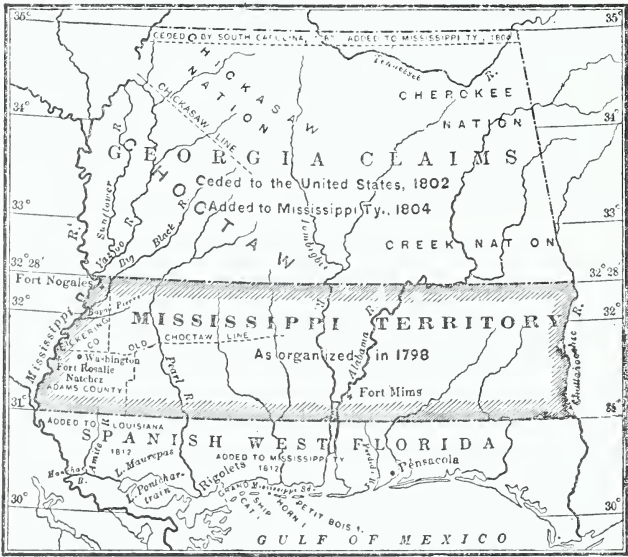
JUDGE CHARLES TAIT

While a Senator from Georgia he fostered most of the legislation which eventually divided the Mississippi Territory and in 1817 created the Alabama Territory.

said boundary line to the Tennessee river, thence up the same to the mouth of Bear creek, thence by a direct line to the north-west corner of Washington County, thence southwardly along the line dividing the counties of Washington, Baldwin, and Mobile, on the east, from Wayne, Green, and Jackson, on the west, to the gulf of Mexico, thence eastwardly, including all islands within six leagues of the shore, to the Perdido river, and thence up the same to the beginning, shall, for the purpose of a temporary government, constitute a separate Territory, and be called "Mobile."

Sec. 2. *And be it further encated*, That all offices which may exist, and all laws which may be in force in said Territory, within the boundaries above described, at the time this act shall go into effect, shall continue to exist and be in force until otherwise provided by law; and the President of the United States shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint a governor and secretary for the said Mobile Territory, who shall respectively exercise the same powers, perform the same duties, and receive for their services the same compensation as are provided for the governor and secretary of the Mississippi Territory.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That the governor to be appointed under the authority of this act, shall, immediately after entering into office, convene, at the town of St. Stephens, on the Tombigby river, such of the members of the legislative council and house of representatives of the Mississippi Territory as may then be the representatives from the several counties within the limits of the Territory to be established by this act; and the said members shall constitute the legislative council and house of representatives for the aforesaid Mobile Territory, whose powers, in relation to the said Territory, shall be, until the expiration of the term for which they shall have been chosen, or until Congress shall otherwise provide, the same, in all respects, as are now possessed by the legislative council and house of representatives of the Mississippi Territory; and the town of St. Stephens shall be the seat of government for the said Mobile Territory, until it shall be otherwise ordered by the legislature thereof.



Mississippi Territorial boundary lines about during the early 1800's.

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That this act shall commence and be in force so soon as the convention, the appointment whereof hath been authorized by Congress at their present session, shall have formed a Constitution and State Government for that part of the Mississippi Territory lying west of the Territory herein described; of which act of convention the governor of the Mississippi Territory, for the time being, shall give immediate notice to the President of the United States, who shall, thereupon, forthwith proceed to the execution of the powers vested in him by the section of this act; but in case such convention shall fail to form a Constitution and State Government, as aforesaid, then this act shall, in all its provisions, become null and void, and of no effect.

Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That all persons who shall be in office within the Territory hereby established, when the said convention shall have formed a Constitution and State Government, as aforesaid, shall continue to hold and exercise their offices in all respects as if this never had been made; and the governor and secretary of the Mississippi Territory, for the time being, shall continue to exercise the duties of their respective offices in relation to the Territory hereby established, until a governor and secretary shall be appointed for the Territory of Mobile, in pursuance of this act.

Sec. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That all judicial process in the said Territory of Mobile, shall be issued and bear test as heretofore; nor shall any suit be discontinued, nor the proceeding in any cause be staid, or in anywise affected by any thing contained in this act, or in the act entitled "An act to enable the people of the western part of The Mississippi Territory to form a Constitution and State Government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States."

[Endorsed] S 15 14 Cong 2 sess. L A Bill To establish a separate territorial government for the Eastern part of the Mississippi territory January 17 Read & to 2 Reading January 20 read 2 time January 30 to 3 Reading 31 Recommended. February 5 Reported amended

A BILL TO ESTABLISH THE TERRITORY OF ALABAMA

[NA:SF, 14 Cong., 2 sess. :AD]

IN SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES February 4th 1817.⁸⁸

Mr. Tait from the committee to which was recommitted the bill to establish a separate territorial government, for the eastern part of the Mississippi territory,⁸⁹ reported the following in lieu thereof.⁹⁰

"A Bill to establish a separate territorial government, for the Eastern part of the Mississippi territory.

Be it enacted, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all that part of the Mississippi Territory, which lies within the following boundaries towit: Beginning at the point where the line of the thirty first degree of North latitude intersects the Perdido river, thence East to the western boundary line of the State of Georgia; thence along said line to the southern boundary line of the State of Tennessee; thence west along said boundary line to the Tennessee river, thence up the same to the mouth of Bear creek, thence by a direct line to the North West corner of Washington county; thence due South to the Gulf of Mexico, thence eastwardly including all the islands within six leagues of the Shore to the Perdido river, and thence up the same to the beginning shall for the purpose of a temporary government constitute a separate territory and be called Alabama.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That all offices which may exist, and all laws which may be in force in said territory, within the boundaries above described at the time this act shall go into effect, shall continue to exist and be in force until otherwise provided by law. And the President of the United States shall have power to appoint a Governor and Secretary for the said Alabama Territory, who shall respectively exercise the same powers, perform the same duties and receive for their services the same compensation as are provid-

⁸⁸ On the original the lines preceding the principal title are at the end, but there is a symbol indicating that the language should be transferred to the beginning of the document.

⁸⁹ Jan. 31, 1817 (*Senate Journal*, 14 Cong., 2 sess., p. 174).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 190.



COLONEL JOHN CROWELL

ed for the Governor and Secretary of the Mississippi territory; Provided, That the appointment of said Governor and Secretary shall be submitted to the Senate for their advice and consent at the next session of Congress.

Sec 3 And be it further enacted, That there shall be appointed an additional judge for the Mississippi territory who shall reside in the Eastern part thereof and receive the same compensation as the other Judges; and that the judge appointed by virtue of an act passed the twenty seventh day of March one thousand eight hundred and four for the appointment of an additional judge for the Mississippi Territory together with the Judge appointed for Madison county and the judge to be appointed by virtue of this act shall possess and exercise exclusive original jurisdiction in the Superior courts of Washington, Baldwin, Clarke, Monroe, Montgomery, Wayne, Green, Jackson, Mobile, Madison, and of such new counties as may be formed out of them, and shall arrange the same among themselves, from time to time; Provided, That no judge shall sit more than twice in succession in the same court, and that the other judges of the Mississippi Territory shall exercise, as heretofore authorized by an act of Congress or of the Territorial legislature exclusive jurisdiction in the superior courts of the other counties. That a General court to be composed of the judge appointed by virtue of the act of twenty seventh of March one thousand eight hundred and four, the judge appointed for Madison county, and the judge to be appointed by virtue of this act, or any two of them; shall be holden at St. Stephens, commencing on the first Mondays of January and July annually who shall have the same power of issuing writs of error to the Superior courts of the counties mentioned in this section, or which shall hereafter be formed in the Eastern division of the Territory, which was given by the act for the appointment of an additional judge passed the year one thousand eight hundred and four, to the Superior court of Adams district, and shall possess exclusively of the courts of the several counties the federal jurisdiction given to the Superior courts of the Territories by an act passed on the third day of March one thousand eight hundred and five entitled " An act to extend jurisdiction in certain cases to the Territorial courts".⁹¹

⁹¹ 2 STAT. 338-839.

Sec 4. And be it further enacted, That the Governor to be appointed under the authority of this act shall immediately after entering into office convene at the town of St. Stephens such of the members of the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of the Mississippi territory as may then be the representatives from the several counties within the limits of the territory to be established by this act, and the said members shall constitute the Legislative council and House of Representatives for the aforesaid Territory shall be until the expiration of the term for which they shall have been chosen, or until Congress shall otherwise provide, the same, in all respects, as are now possessed by the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of the Mississippi Territory; and the said Legislative council and House of Representatives of the Alabama Territory, so formed, shall have power to nominate six persons to the President of the United States, three of whom shall be selected by him for members of the Legislative Council, in addition to the number which the said territory may possess agreeable to the foregoing provisions of this section. The said Legislative Council and House of Representatives shall also have power to elect a delegate to Congress, who shall in all respects possess the same rights and immunities as other delegates from Territories of the United States.

Sec 5. And be it further enacted, That this act shall commence and be in force so soon as the convention the appointment whereof has been authorized by Congress at their present session shall have formed a Constitution and State Government, for that part of the Mississippi Territory lying west of the Territory herein described, of which act of Convention the Governor of the Mississippi, for the time being, shall give immediate notice to the President of the United States, who shall thereupon forthwith proceed to the execution of the powers vested in him by the second section of this act. But in case said Convention shall fail to form a Constitution and State Government as aforesaid, then this act shall become null and void, except so far as relates to the third section thereof, which shall take effect and be in force from and after the passage of this act.

Sec 6. And be it further enacted, That all persons who shall be in office within the territory hereby established when

the said Convention Shall have formed a Constitution and State government as aforesaid shall continue to hold and exercise their offices in all respects as if this act had never been made, and the Governor and Secretary of the Mississippi Territory for the time being shall continue to exercise the duties of their respective offices in relation to the Territory hereby established until a governor and Secretary shall be appointed therefor in pursuance of this act.

Sec. 7. And be it further enacted, That all judicial process in the said Territory of Alabama shall be issued and bear test as heretofore, nor shall any suit be discontinued, or the proceeds of any cause staid, or in any wise affected, by any thing continued in this act, or in the act entitled "An act to enable the people of the Western part of the Mississippi Territory to form a Constitution and State Government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States."

Sec. 8. And be it further enacted, That the town of St. Stephens shall be the seat of Government for the said Alabama Territory until it shall be otherwise ordered by the legislature thereof.

[*Endorsed*] Senate Bill No 39 14 Cong 2 Sess L A Bill To establish a separate territorial government for the Eastern part of the Mississippi Territory 1817 Feby 4. Read. ⁵²

⁵² This bill was reported as amended on Feb. 5, and on Feb. 19 it was considered in Committee of the Whole, which reported it out with an additional amendment. It was read the third time and passed on Feb. 21 and sent to the House (*Senate Journal*, 14 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 260-261, 273-274), where it was received on Feb. 24.

The issue hinged on whether Congress should or should not enable Mississippi to come into the Union as a whole, or after division. On Feb. 24, 1817, the House, sitting as Committee of the Whole, had before it three bills: (1) a House bill to enable the people of the western part of the Territory to form a State Constitution and Government; (2) a Senate bill for the same purpose; and (3) a second House bill to enable the people of the whole Territory to form a State Government (no copy of this bill has been seen). Apparently the above bill was not committed to the Committee of the Whole on this occasion, since its fate rested on the disposal of the statehood issue.

The Senate's statehood bill was first considered, in which connection a motion was offered by Israel Pickens, of North Carolina, to strike out everything after the enacting clause and to insert in lieu thereof the text of the House bill, which would provide statehood for the entire Terri-

tory. The motion was defeated, by what vote we are not told. It was then moved by John W. Taylor, of New York, that all relevant bills then before the House be postponed indefinitely, which motion was defeated by a vote of 80 to 62. Other motions and amendments were offered of the Territory to form a State was then advanced to third reading and passed (*House Journal*, 14 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 445-456 458). The act was approved Mar. 1, 1817. The Senate bill to establish Alabama Territory was then quickly advanced to third reading and passed on Mar. 3, 1817, *ibid.*, p. 545. See text, *post*, p. 53.

AN ACT ESTABLISHING ALABAMA TERRITORY

[NA:SD, Original Statutes³⁷]

[March 3, 1817]

*An Act to establish a separate territorial government for the eastern part of the Mississippi territory.*³⁸

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That all that part of the Mississippi Territory which lies within the following boundries, to wit; Beginning at the point where the line of the thirty first degree of north Latitude intersects the Perdido river, thence east to the Western boundary line of the State of Georgia, thence along said line to the Southern boundary line to the State of Tennessee, thence West along said boundary line to the Tennessee river, thence up the same to the mouth of Bear creek, thence by a direct line to the north-west corner of Washington County, thence due South to the Gulph of Mexico, thence eastwardly including all the islands within six leagues of the shore to the Perdido River, and thence up the same to the beginning," shall, for the purpose of a temporary government, constitute a separate Territory, and be called "Alabama".

Sec: 2. *And be it further enacted, That all offices which may exist, and all laws which may be in force in said Territory, within the boundaries above described at the time this act shall go into effect, shall continue to exist and be in force until otherwise provided by law.*^{38a} And the President of the United States shall have power to appoint a governor and Secretary for the said Alabama Territory, who shall respectively exercise the same power, perform the same duties, and receive for their services the same compensation as are provided for the Governor and Secretary of the Mississipp Territory: *Provided* that the appointment of said Governor and Secretary shall be sub-

³⁷ Printed also in 3 STAT 371-373, an official printing which contains numerous variations from the original, notably with respect to punctuation; in the latter regard some 49 discrepancies have been noted. Similar, though not so many, variations are also found in Thrope (ed.), *Fed. and State Consts.*, I, 89-92, an official publication.

³⁸ The legislative history of the act may be traced in the bills and in the reports printed in the preceding pages of this volume. Cf. act creating Mississippi Territory, Apr. 7, 1798 (*Terr. Papers, Miss.*, v, 18-22).

mitted to the Senate for their advice and consent, at the next session of Congress.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That there shall be appointed an additional Judge for the Mississippi Territory who shall reside in the Eastern part thereof, and receive the same compensation as the other Judges;³⁹ and that the Judge appointed by virtue of an act passed the twenty-seventh day of March, one thousand eight hundred and four, for the appointment of an additional Judge for the Mississippi Territory⁴⁰ together with the Judge appointed for Madison county⁴¹ and the Judge to be appointed by virtue of this act, shall possess and exercise exclusive original Jurisdiction in the Superior courts of Washington, Baldwin, Clarke, Monroe, Montgomery, Wayne, Green, Jackson, Mobile, Madison, and of such new counties, as may be formed out of them, and shall arrange the same among themselves from time to time;⁴² *Provided*, that no Judge shall sit more than twice in succession in the same Court,⁴³ and that the other Judges of the Mississippi Territory shall exercise, as heretofore authorized by an act of Congress or of the Territorial Legislature, exclusive Jurisdiction in the Superior courts of the other counties. That a general court to be composed of the Judge appointed by virtue of the act of twenty-seventh of March, one thousand eight hundred and four, The Judge appointed for Madison County, and the Judge to

^{38a} For the principle of continuing legislation, see Philbrick (ed.), *Laws III. Terr.* (I. H. C., XXV, Springfield, 1950), p. cccxxxvii.

³⁹ Stevenson Archer, of Maryland, was appointed in accordance with the above provision, his commission being dated Mar. 6, 1817; his tenure was during good behavior, or for as long as the government established by the act of Mar. 3, 1817, should exist. He was therefore one of the hold-over judges, but he resigned within a year of his appointment and returned to Maryland (*Terr. Papers*, Miss., VI, 781, 816).

⁴⁰ 2 STAT. 301-302. Judge Harry Toulmin was the continuing Judge under the act in question, having been confined Nov. 20, 1804 (*Senate Execut. Journal*, I, 473).

⁴¹ Provided for in an act approved Mar. 2, 1810 (2 STAT. 563-564). Judge Obadiah Jones was the incumbent, having been appointed Mar. 6, 1810 (*Terr. Papers*, op. cit., pp. 51-52). Jones resigned in 1819 and was succeeded by John W. Walker on Mar. 2 of that year. See post, p. 570.

⁴² See act approved Apr. 20, 1818 (3 STAT. 468), extending the above provision to include counties organized subsequent to the passage of the above act. The law referred to also invested the territorial legislature with power to fix the time and places of holding the superior courts in each of the counties, and of the number of terms to be held in each county, though the terms could not exceed two annually.

⁴³ Repealed by the act approved Apr. 20, 1818 (3 STAT. 468).

be appointed by virtue of this act, or any two of them, shall be holden at St. Stephens, Commencing on the first Mondays of January and July annually, who shall have the same power of issuing writs of error to the superior courts of the counties mentioned in this section, or which shall hereafter be formed in the Eastern division of the Territory which was given by the act for the appointment of an additional Judge, passed the year one thousand eight hundred and four, to the Superior court of Adams' district, and which shall possess exclusively of the Courts of the several counties the federal jurisdiction given to the superior courts of the Territories by an act passed the third day of March, one thousand eight hundred and five, entitled "An act to extend Jurisdiction in certain cases to the Territorial Courts."⁴⁴

Sec 4: *And be it further enacted*, That the governor to be appointed under the authority of this act⁴⁵ shall immediately after entering into office convene at the town of St. Stephens such of the members of the legislative counsel and house of Representatives of the Mississippi Territory, as may then be the representatives from the several counties within the limits of the Territory to be established by this act, and the said members shall constitute the legislative counsel and house of representatives for the aforesaid Alabama Territory, whose powers in relation to the said Territory shall be until the expiration of the term for which they shall have been chosen, or until Congress shall otherwise provide, the same, in all respects, as are now possessed by the Legislative counsel, and house of representatives of the Mississippi Territory;⁴⁶ and the said legislative counsel and house of representatives, of the Alabama Territory, so formed, shall have power to nominate six persons to the President of the United States, three of whom shall be

⁴⁴ 2 STAT. 338-339. By the act of Apr. 20, 1818 (op. cit.), Alabama was given essentially the Illinois judicial system. See Philbrick (ed.), op. cit., p. liv. See also Farrand, *Legis. for the Terrs.*, p. 29. Cf. *Terr. Papers*. (Ill.), XVI, 7. See sec. 9, *infra*.

⁴⁵ See appointment of Governor, *post*, p. 161.

⁴⁶ The above provision represents the first deviation from the principle embodied in the Ordinance of 1787 to the effect that in a new territory there should be a first stage of government exercised entirely by the Governor and Judges. That period of tutelage is here for the first time omitted. The next appearance of this policy is found in the act establishing the Territory of Wisconsin in 1836. Thereafter the first stage of government is entirely abandoned.

selected by him for members of the Legislative counsel, in addition to the number which the said Territory may possess agreeably to the foregoing provisions of this section. The said legislative counsel and house of representatives shall also have power to elect a delegate to Congress, who shall in all respects possess the same rights and immunities as other delegates from Territories of the United States.⁴⁷

Sec. 5: *And be it further enacted*, That this act shall commence and be in force so soon as the convention, the appointment whereof has been authorized by Congress at their present session, shall have formed a constitution and State Government for that part of the Mississippi Territory lying West of the Territory herein described, of which act of convention the Governor of the Mississippi, for the time being, shall give immediate notice to the President of the United States who shall thereupon forthwith proceed to the execution of the powers vested in him by the second of this act. But in case said convention shall fail to form a constitution and State Government as aforesaid, then this act shall become null and void; except so far as relates to the third section thereof, which shall take effect and be in force from and after the passage of this act.

Sec. 6: *And be it further enacted*, That all persons who shall be in office within the Territory hereby established when the said convention shall have formed a constitution and State Government as aforesaid, shall continue to hold and exercise their offices in all respects as if this act had never been made; and the Governor and Secretary of the Mississippi Territory, for the time being, shall continue to exercise the duties of their respective offices in relation to the Territory hereby established, until a governor and Secretary shall be appointed therefor in pursuance to this act.

Sec. 7: *And be further enacted*, That all Judicial process in the said Territory of Alabama shall be issued and bear tests

⁴⁷ An omission in the above act respecting the taking of the oath of office by all executive, legislative, judicial, and militia officers was corrected in an act approved Apr. 20, 1818 (3 STAT. 468). Another omission concerned the qualifications for holding office within the Territory, which was also remedied in an act approved Apr. 9, 1818 (3 STAT. 417), to the effect that only persons owning a quarter section or more of land were competent to hold office.

as heretofore, nor shall any suit be discontinued, or the proceedings of any cause staid or in any wise affected by any thing contained in this act, or in the act entitled "an act to enable the people of the western part of the Mississippi Territory to form a constitution and State Government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States."

Sec. 8: *And be it further enacted*, That the town of St Stephens shall be the seat of Government for the said Alabama Territory until it shall be otherwise ordered by the legislature thereof.

Sec. 9: *And be it further enacted*, That whatever balance may remain in the Treasury of the Mississippi Territory at the time when the convention authorized to form a constitution and State Government for the western part of said territory may have formed a constitution and State government for the western part of said territory may have formed a constitution and State government for the same, shall be divided between the new state and territory according to the amount which may have been paid into said treasury from the counties lying within the limits of such states and territory respectively.⁴⁸

H. Clay Speaker of the House Representatives

John Gaillard President of the Senate pro tempore.

March 3, 1817

Approved James Madison

I certify that this act did originate in the Senate Attest
Charles Cutts Secretary

⁴⁸ Section 9 represents an amendment to the bill of Feb. 4, 1817, ante, p. 36. Other variations between the bill and the act as passed, slight in nature and bearing no significance, are purely stylistic.

A BILL TO ESTABLISH THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN
ALABAMA TERRITORY AND THE STATE OF
MISSISSIPPI

[NA:SF, 15 Cong., 1 sess. :AD]

S63 IN SENATE UNITED STATES April 1st 1818

Mr. Leake from the committee to whom the Subject was referred,²⁹ reported the following bill, which was read and passed to the second reading:—

A BILL TO alter, and establish the Boundary line between the State of Mississippi, and the Alabama Territory.

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the boundary line between the state of Mississippi and the Alabama Territory, as designated by an act of Congress entitled “an act to enable the people of the Western part of the Mississippi Territory to form a Constitution and State Government and for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original states” passed on the 1st day of March one thousand eight hundred and seventeen,³⁰ shall be so charged as to run from the north west corner of Washington County, South twelve degress east to the gulph of Mexico,

Sec. 2 And be it further enacted that the Surveyor of the Public lands south of the State of Tennessee, shall cause the said line to be run from the mouth of Bear creek on the Tennessee River, in a direct line to the North west corner of Washington County, and from thence South twelve degrees east, to the gulph of Mexico. And the said Surveyor shall cause the said line to be plainly chopped and marked, by blazing the trees with [blank] feet on either side thereof, and making in each tree so blazed, three plain notches on one side thereof.

²⁹ Dec. 16, 1817 (*Annals*, 15 Cong., 1 sess., 34).

³⁰ 3 STAT. 348-349.

Sec. 3 And be it further enacted, That the said Surveyor shall be allowed the sum of [blank] dollars for each mile in length, that the said line shall be run; And he shall also be allowed the sum of [blank] dollars for each mile, for running such traverse line as shall be found necessary in order to ascertain the true course from the mouth of bear creek to the North west corner of Washington county. And the said Surveyor is hereby authorised and directed to employ so many axe men, as shall be necessary to blaze and chop the said line, in such manner as is herein before directed, and to allow to each axe man, a sum not exceeding [blank] per day for each day he shall be so employed.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted; that the sum of [blank] thousand dollars be, and the same are hereby appropriated to defray the expenses of running and marking the aforesaid line, to be paid out of any monies in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated.

Sec. 5. And be it further enacted That the line, as herein described shall be, and hereby is established as the permanent boundary, between the State of Mississippi, and the Alabama Territory; any law to the contrary notwithstanding.

[*Endorsed*] S. 63. 15 Cong 1 Sees L. A bill To alter and establish the boundary line between the State of Mississippi & the Alabama territory. 1818 April 1 Read

[*Endorsed on another copy*] April 1, 1818. Read and passed to a second reading. April 2, 1818. Read the second time. April 4, 1818. Considered and postponed until Monday. April 7, 1818. Considered and postponed to the first Monday in July next.³¹

³¹ *Annals*, 15 Cong., 1 sess., 306, 309, 346. No further action is noted on this bill. Although Alabama was admitted into the Union on Dec. 14, 1819, with the boundary lines as described in the enabling act for Mississippi, approved Mar. 1, 1817 (3 STAT. 348-349), and in the act organizing the Territory of Alabama, approved Mar. 3, 1817 (*ante*, p. 53), the surveyor general had been authorized in the act enabling Alabama Territory to form a state government, approved Mar. 2, 1819 (3 STAT. 489-492), to run trial lines in order to establish the correct boundaries between the two states. This was not undertaken, however, until 1820. For a fuller account, see Douglas, *Boundaries of the U. S. and the Several States*, Geological Survey Bulletin 817, 2d edition, pp. 162-163. See also Mondell, Acting Commissioner, General Land Office, to J. H. Bankhead, Aug. 3, 1898 (*Pubs. Ala. Hist. Soc.*, II, 91-93), for further data.

CHAP. 47. An act to enable the People of the Alabama Territory to form a Constitution and State Government, and for the Admission of such State into the Union, on an equal footing with the original states.

Sect. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the inhabitants of the territory of Alabama be, and they are hereby, authorized to form for themselves a constitution and state government, and to assume such name as they may deem proper; and that the said territory, when formed into a state, shall be admitted into the Union, upon the same footing with the original states, in all respects whatever.

Sect. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the said state shall consist of all the territory included within the following boundaries, to wit: Beginning at the point where the thirty-first degree of north latitude intersects the Perdido river; thence, east, to the western boundary line of the state of Georgia; thence, along said line, to the southern boundary line of the state of Tennessee; thence, west, along said boundary line, to the Tennessee river; thence, up the same, to the mouth of Bear creek; thence, by a direct line, to the northwest corner of Washington county; thence, due south, to the Gulf of Mexico; thence, eastwardly, including all islands within six leagues of the shore, to the Perdido river; and thence, up the same, to the beginning.

Sect. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the surveyor of the lands of the United States south of the state of Tennessee, and the surveyor of the public lands in the Alabama Territory, to run and cut out the line of demarcation, between the state of Mississippi and the state to be formed of the Alabama territory; and if it should appear to said surveyors, that so much of said line designated in the preceding section, running due south, from the northwest corner of Washington county to the Gulf of Mexico, will encroach on the counties of Wayne, Green, or Jackson, in said state of Mississippi, then the same shall be so altered as to run in a direct line from the northwest corner of Washington county to a point on the Gulf of Mexico, ten miles east of the mouth of the river Pascagola.

Sect. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That all white male citizens of the United States, who shall have arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and have resided in said territory three months previous to the day of election, and all persons having, in other respects, the legal qualifications to vote for representatives in the General Assembly of the said territory, be, and they are hereby, authorized to choose representatives to form a constitution, who shall be appointed among the several counties as follows:

From the county of Madison, eight representatives.
From the county of Monroe, four representatives.
From the county of Blount, three representatives.
From the county of Limestone, three representatives.
From the county of Shelby, two representatives.
From the county of Montgomery, two representatives.
From the county of Washington, two representatives.
From the county of Tuscaloosa, two representatives.
From the county of Lawrence, two representatives.
From the county of Franklin, two representatives.
From the county of Catoosa, two representatives.
From the county of Clark, two representatives.
From the county of Baldwin, one representative.
From the county of Cawhauba, one representative.
From the county of Conecuh, one representative.
From the county of Dallas, one representative.
From the county of Marengo, one representative.
From the county of Marion, one representative.
From the county of Mobile, one representative.
From the county of Lauderdale, one representative.
From the county of St. Clair, one representative.
From the county of Autauga, one representative.

And the election for the representatives aforesaid shall be holden on the the first Monday and Tuesday in May next, throughout the several counties in the said territory, and shall be conducted in the same manner, and under the same regulations, as prescribed by the laws of the said territory, regulating elections therein for the members of the house of representatives.

Sect. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That the members of the convention, thus duly elected, be, and they are hereby, authorized to meet, at the town of Huntsville, on the first Monday in July next; which convention, when met, shall first determine, by a majority of the whole number elected, whether it be, or be not, expedient, at that time, to form a constitution and state government for the people within the said territory: And if it be determined to be expedient, the convention shall be, and hereby are, authorized to form a constitution and state government: *Provided*, That the same, when formed, shall be republican, and not repugnant to the principles of the ordinance of the thirteenth of July, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, between the people and states of the territory northwest of the river Ohio, so far as the same has been extended to the said territory, by the articles of agreement between the United States and the state of Georgia, or of the constitution of the United States.

Sect. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That the following propositions be, and the same are hereby, offered to the convention of the said territory of Alabama, when formed, for their free acceptance or rejection, which, if accepted by the convention, shall be obligatory upon the United States.

First. That the section numbered sixteen in every township, and when such section has been sold, granted, or disposed of, other lands equivalent thereto, and most contiguous to the same, shall be granted to the inhabitants of such townships for the use of schools.

Second. That all salt springs within the said territory, and the lands reserved for the use of the same, together with such other lands as may, by the President of the United States, be deemed necessary and proper for working the said salt springs, not exceeding in the whole the quantity contained in thirty-six entire sections, shall be granted to the said state, for the use of the people of the said state, the same to be used, under such terms, conditions, and regulations, as the legislature of the said state shall direct: *Provided*, The said legislature shall never sell, nor lease the same for a longer term than ten years at any one time.

Third. That five percent of the net proceeds of the lands lying within the said territory, and which shall be sold by Congress, from and after the first day of September, in the year one thousand eight hundred and nineteen, after deducting all expenses incident to the same, shall be reserved for making public roads, canals, and improving the navigation of rivers, of which three-fifths shall be applied to those objects within the said state, under the direction of the legislature thereof, and two-fifths to the making of a road or roads leading to the said state, under the direction of Congress.

Fourth. That thirty-six sections, or one entire township, to be designated by the Secretary of the Treasury, under the direction of the President of the United States, together with the one heretofore reserved for that purpose, shall be reserved for the use of a seminary of learning, and vested in the legislature of the said state, to be appropriated solely to the use of such seminary by the said legislature. And the Secretary of the Treasury, under the direction as aforesaid, may reserve the seventy-two sections, or two townships, hereby set apart for the support of a seminary of learning, in small tracts: *Provided*, That no tract shall consist of less than two sections: *And provided, always*, That the said convention shall provide, by an ordinance irrevocable without the consent of the United States, that the people inhabiting the said territory, do agree and declare that they forever disclaim all right and title to the waste or unappropriated lands lying within the said territory; and that the same shall be and remain at the sole and entire disposition of the United States; and moreover, that each and every tract of land sold by the United States, after the first day of September, in the year one thousand eight hundred and nineteen, shall be and remain exempt from any tax laid by the order, or under the authority, of the state, whether for state, county, township, parish, or any other purpose whatever, for the term of five years, from and after the respective days of the sales thereof: and that the lands belonging to citizens of the United States, residing without the said state, shall never be taxed higher than the lands belonging to persons residing therein; and that no tax shall be imposed on lands, the property of the United States: and that all navigable waters within the said state shall forever re-

main public highways, free to the citizens of said state and of the United States, without any tax, duty, impost, or toll, therefor, imposed by the said state.

Sect. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That., in lieu of a section of land, provided to be reserved for the seat of government of the said territory, by an act, entitled "An act respecting the surveying and sale of the public lands in Alabama territory,"* there be granted to the said state, for the seat of the government thereof, a tract of landing containing sixteen hundred and twenty acres, and consisting of sundry fractions and a quarter section, in sections thirty-one and thirty-two, in township sixteen, and range ten, and in sections five and six, in township fifteen, and range ten, and in sections twenty-nine and thirty, in the same township and range, lying on both sides of the Alabama and Cahawba rivers, and including the mouth of the river Cahawba, and which heretofore has been reserved from public sale, by order of the President of the United States.

Sect. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That, until the next general census shall be taken, the said state shall be entitled to one representative in the House of Representatives of the United States.

Sect. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That in case the said convention shall form a constitution and state government for the people of the territory of Alabama, the said convention, as soon thereafter as may be, shall cause a true and attested copy of such constitution or frame of government as shall be formed or provided, to be transmitted to Congress, for its approbation.

[*Approved, March 8, 1819.*]

SOME ALABAMAIAANS OF THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD

John Williams Walker, was born in Amelia County, Virginia, August 12, 1783. He received his bachelor and master of arts degrees from Princeton University and was admitted to the bar in Petersburg, Georgia. In 1810 he moved to Huntsville, Alabama, where he continued to practice law. He was a member of the legislature of the Territory of Alabama in 1818 and the following year was president of the convention which frame the first state constitution. After declining President Madison's appointment to a federal district judgeship, he was almost unanimously elected as one of Alabama's first senators. Resigning his seat in the senate in December, 1822 because of ill health, he died on April 23, 1823, in Huntsville.

Harry Toulmin, a native of Taunton, England, immigrated to Virginia in 1793. He served for four years as president of Transylvania College in Kentucky, retiring to become secretary of state of Kentucky. After President Jefferson appointed him judge of the superior court of the Mississippi Territory in 1804, he moved to Washington County, now in the State of Alabama. He subsequently became the first federal judge of the Tombigbee District. In 1816 Toulmin was sent to Washington, D. C., by the residents of the eastern part of the Mississippi Territory to work for the admission of the whole territory, failing which he contended for the boundary line most favorable to Alabama. When the Alabama Territory was created, he was continued in his office as federal district judge, but lost the position to former Senator Charles Tait when Alabama was admitted to the Union. In 1823 he wrote the first digest of the laws of Alabama.

Charles Tait, first federal district judge in the state of Alabama, was born in Louisa County, Virginia. While teaching at the Richmond Academy, he was admitted to the bar in Elberton, Georgia. In 1803 he was elected judge of the western circuit of Georgia, and in 1809 succeeded John Milledge as senator from Georgia. Having voted for the unpopular bill to raise the salary of United States senators, he was only dissuaded from resigning his seat by John W. Walker and other

prominent Alabamians. He remained in the senate until the expiration of his term and guided through Congress the Alabama enabling act. He moved to Alabama in 1819, and through the influence of Governor William Wyatt Bibb, Walker, and Secretary of the Treasury William Crawford, he was appointed federal judge. Resigning the judgeship in 1826, he interested himself in his plantation in Wilcox County until his death in 1835.

John Crowell of North Carolina first came to Alabama in 1815. In 1818 he was elected by the territorial legislature as the delegate to the United States Congress, but according to John W. Walker, Charles Tait was more effectual than the delegate from the territory. Crowell served in the House of Representatives for one term, 1819-1821, when he became agent for the Creek Indians with his official residence at the Agency. He died at Fort Mitchell, Alabama in January, 1846.

William Lattimore, physician, born near Norfolk, Virginia in 1774, moved to Natchez, Mississippi Territory in 1801. After moving to Wilkerson County, he was appointed to the territorial council by President Jefferson. He was elected territorial delegate to Congress in 1805, 1807, 1813, and 1815. In Congress he actively opposed the division of the territory, but when it became evident that the southern senators were determined to make two states from the territory, he attempted to have the boundary drawn so as to include Mobile in the western part. Toulmin wanted the line drawn at the Pascagoula River but final decision was based on Dr. Lattimore's compromise. As a result of the compromise, Lattimore lost his popularity in Mississippi and was never again elected to public office. He died in Amite County, April 3, 1843.

CENSUS OF THE COUNTIES OF THE WESTERN PART
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY¹

	1800	1810		1816 Free Blacks	Slave	Total
			Whites			
Baldwin		1,427	411	43	709	11,163
Clarke			2,763	16	1,338	4,117
Madison		4,699	10,000		4,200	14,200
Mobile			867		433	1,300
Monroe			3,593	72	1,603	5,268
Washington	1,250	2,920	1,888		671	2,559

¹ Compiled from Alabama Official and Statistical Register, 1915, p. 309, and Carter's Territorial Papers of the United States, VI, 730.

ABSTRACT OF THE TERRITORIAL CENSUS OF ALABAMA²

(NA:SD, Ala. Terr. Papers:DS)

Counties	Taken in 1818						Total of Inhabitants	
	White males under 21 years	White males over 21 years	White Females over 21 years	White Females under 21 years	Total of Whites	Free People of Colour		Total of Slaves
Baldwin.....	134	134	92	144	504	54	667	1225
Blount.....	625	1098	508	998	3229		470	3699
Cahawba.....	199	358	170	304	1031	2	247	1280
Clark.....	591	838	461	784	2674	18	1714	4406
Conecuh.....	220	363	191	318	1092		303	1395
Cotaco.....	386	694	341	680	2101		152	2253
Dallas.....	280	439	196	405	1320		437	1757
Franklin.....	443	772	372	666	2253	7	430	2690
Lauderdale.....	297	613	273	515	1698		267	1965
Lawrence.....								
Limestone.....	726	1091	610	1046	3473	1	1015	4489
Madison.....	1830	2821	1427	2702	8780	17	6870	15667
Marengo.....	326	342	193	303	1164	3	533	1700
Marion.....								
Mobile.....	466	195	161	160	982	194	471	1647
Monroe.....	946	1406	707	1248	4307	22	3304	7633
Montgomery.....	799	1103	555	1007	3464	8	1747	5219
Shelby.....	628	1099	524	1036	3287	1	579	3867
Tuscaloosa.....	549	723	429	664	2365		773	3138
Washington.....	529	660	239	619	2147	12	1405	3564
	9974	14749	7549	13599	45871	339	21384	67594

² Clarence E. Carter, *Territorial Papers of the United States*, XVIII, 462.

TOWNS IN THE ALABAMA TERRITORY

Huntsville, Madison County

Jackson, Clarke County

St. Stephens, Washington County

Mobile, Mobile County

Ft. Jackson, Montgomery County

Ft. Claiborne, Monroe County

Blakely, Baldwin County

³ Justus Wyman, "A Geographical Sketch of the Alabama Territory,"
Publications of the Alabama Historical Society, Transactions, III, 110,
115-118, 123.

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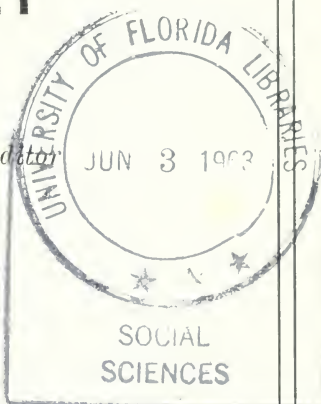
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THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Peter A. Brannon, *Editor*



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of

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EDITORIAL

The thesis used as this number of the Quarterly is here presented as submitted by the author. There are certain errors in the comments of the author known as such by the four members of the family still living at Montgomery but these errors are not of such a character as to destroy the value of the material and they are not edited out of his presentation.

Peter A. Brannon
Editor

FIVE CONFEDERATES: THE SONS OF BOLLING HALL
IN THE CIVIL WAR

by

CHARLES T. JONES, JR., B. A., B. D.

THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
The University of Texas in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements

For the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

FEBRUARY, 1961

PREFACE

I was first introduced to the five Confederates and their war letters by Dr. Barnes F. Lathrop early in the spring of 1957. Dr. Lathrop also suggested that a thorough study of these letters could serve as the basis for a Master's thesis. From the time I accepted his suggestion, he has given me wise counsel and constructive criticism to the end that the story of the five Confederates might be told. I am grateful for his assistance.

I am thankful for my wife, Barbara, and for my daughter, Becky, whose patience and understanding never wavered when the head of the household went off to fight the War with the Five Confederates.

Charles T. Jones, Jr.

San Marcos, Texas

January, 1961

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“Five of us were in the war.”

—In a letter from John Hall,
Chafin's Farm, Virginia, to
Hines Hall, June 5, 1864.

CHAPTER I

This thesis tells the story of five brothers—Bolling Hall III, Crenshaw Hall, James A. Hall, John E. Hall, and Thomas B. Hall—five of the nine sons of the second Bolling Hall who served in the Confederate States Army. The Hall boys were sons and grandsons of prominent Alabama planters.¹ The story of their experiences based upon the letters they wrote home to their father and other members of the family describes the price one southern family had to pay for the war.²

Their grandfather, the first Bolling Hall, was born December 25, 1767, in Dinwiddie County, Virginia. In 1792 Hall moved to Hancock County, Georgia, where he achieved substance as a planter. He was also involved in politics representing the Milledgeville district in Congress, March 4, 1811–March 3, 1817. He left Georgia in 1818 and settled in Autauga County, Alabama. He was not especially prominent in Alabama political affairs, but did correspond with various Southern leaders, including John C. Calhoun.

The father of the Hall boys, Bolling Hall II, born in 1813, had carried on his father's occupation and his interest in politics. He was a member of the Alabama house in 1849, 1851, and 1853. Although he never held any important office, he was close to the "Montgomery Regency," and politics fill his correspondence. He was supported by the co-operationists in 1860 but was beaten by his opponent who favored immediate secession. He was loyal to the state, however, and devoted himself to the Confederate cause.

At the beginning of 1861, Bolling Hall III, or Bolling Hall, Jr.,³ the oldest of the Hall Boys, was studying law at the Uni-

¹For the history of the Bolling Hall family before the Civil War, see Ora Lee Cupp, "The Bolling Halls, A Planter Family of Georgia and Alabama, 1792-1860" (unpublished M.A. thesis, The University of Texas, Austin, Texas, 1949).

²The **Bolling Hall Papers, 1785-1898**, comprising several thousand manuscripts, are in the Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Microfilm copies of the correspondence, January 11, 1807-April 22, 1865, are in the University of Texas Library, where they are classified as Ramsdell Microfilms, Rolls 319B-322.

³The third Bolling Hall signed his letters Bolling Hall, Jr. His father was addressed as Major Bolling Hall.

versity of Virginia. Deeply interested in the events of his day, and enthusiastic for the Southern cause, he saw the storm approaching. To his father he observed: "I fear nothing will avert a civil war. The students just from Washington say that the general opinion is that war is inevitable."⁴

Following the bombardment and capture of Fort Sumter, Bolling sought his father's advice about his future course of action. His letter left no doubt that he had already made up his mind to respond to the call to arms.⁵ As a member of the University Cadets, he participated on the night of April 18 in the seizure by the Virginia authorities of Harper's Ferry and its valuable arms machinery.⁶ Soon afterward Bolling was back in Alabama, where he volunteered at Montgomery on May 15, 1861, and was mustered into service on June 2, 1861, as a private in (Old) Company L, Sixth Regiment, Alabama Infantry.⁷ Colonel John Seibels, who had served in the Mexican War, commanded the regiment.⁸

Late in May the Sixth Alabama was ordered to Corinth, Mississippi. In his first letter from Corinth, Bolling described Colonel Seibels as

... very unpopular. He curses everyone. He told them all a day or two since that he didn't come here to get popular. He asked Lieutenant Kirkpatrick whether he was popular with them. Kirkpatrick replied, "Yes, they curse me a great deal." "Then," says Seibels, "you are a good officer for if you are popular with them I know you are not worth a damn."⁹

Bolling also had much to say about their trip to Corinth, which was made in box cars. Bolling had managed to ride part way with some of the officers and share their mess. At

⁴Bolling Hall, Jr., University of Virginia, to Father, January 1, 1861.

⁵Bolling Hall, Jr., University of Virginia, to Father, April 14, 1861.

⁶Major Bolling Hall, n.p., to the Hon. Secretary of War, n.d. This seems to be the first draft of a letter. See also Douglas Southall Freeman, *"Lee's Lieutenants"* (3 vols., New York: Scribner's, 1942), I, 9.

⁷Compiled Military Service Record of Bolling Hall, Jr., R.G. 109, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁸Joseph Wheeler, "Alabama," *Confederate Military History*, edited by Clement Evans (12 vols., Atlanta, Georgia, 1899), VII, 72.

⁹Bolling Hall, Jr., Corinth, Miss., to Father, May 30, 1861.

Chattanooga he was impressed with the fact that "one fellow was charged ten cents for washing his face." They arrived in Corinth on Sunday, May 30. As white tents spread out in every direction, the town took on a "truly war-like appearance." Bolling's time was consumed mostly in drilling, an activity which he was satisfied he knew more of than did any other in his company.¹⁰

Crenshaw, next oldest of the sons of Bolling Hall, had, like Bolling, Jr., volunteered as a private on May 15, 1861. He became a member of Captain G. B. DuVal's (Old) Company D,¹¹ Sixth Regiment, Alabama Infantry. At Corinth, Crenshaw was stationed only a quarter of a mile from Bolling. Crenshaw's military service record described him as being five feet and ten inches tall, with light hair, grey eyes, and light complexion.¹² As a classmate of Bolling's at the University of Alabama, he had been much inferior to Bolling in behavior, careless in his habits, constantly in debt, disposed to blame professors for his failures, and sick a great deal of the time.¹³ To his mother Bolling had reported: "I give him lectures on honesty, at which he growls very harshly . . . He will think before long that I am worse than you or father ever was on him . . . You would be perfectly how well he takes them (the lectures)."¹⁴ In spite of serious difficulties and Bolling's lectures, Crenshaw graduated from the University of Alabama in 1859. By 1860 he had returned to the University seeking practical experience in writing essays and reviews of current publications.¹⁵

James A. Hall, the third son of Bolling Hall, had, like his older brothers, been a student at the University of Alabama. He was still an undergraduate when war broke out. The details of his entering military service are not clear, but it appears that he enlisted at Montgomery prior to September, 1861. He joined Captain T. L. Faulkner's Company, the Au-

¹⁰Bolling Hall, Jr., Corinth, Miss., to Father, May, 1861.

¹¹Compiled Military Service Record of Crenshaw Hall, R. G. 109, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³Culp, "The Bolling Halls," 121.

¹⁴Bolling Hall, Jr., Tuscaloosa, Ala., to Mother, November 14, 1861.

¹⁵Culp, "The Bolling Halls," 124.

tauga Guards, and was elected orderly sergeant.¹⁶ On September 22 Faulkner's company arrived in Iuka, Mississippi, to await assignment to a regiment.

John E. Hall, fourth in age of the Hall boys, had attended East Alabama College at Auburn, Alabama. A student of the natural sciences, he had been much interested in a trip which was to have started in December, 1860, to the West Indies with a college group to hunt specimens of plant and animal life.¹⁷ At the outbreak of the war, he joined a college company at Auburn.¹⁸ But, as he wrote, "the company busted up because the Governor would not accept our services."¹⁹ From Auburn he went to Montgomery and "joined the Independent Rifles," which became the Sixth Alabama Regiment. As a private in company D,²⁰ he camped "at the race track about a mile and half from town . . . for about two weeks." Toward the end of May, John left Montgomery in a freight box car for West Point, Georgia. Thence he traveled to Atlanta, and on to Chattanooga, arriving at daybreak and seeing for the first time "beautiful Mount Lookout." From Chattanooga John went via Huntsville, Alabama, to Corinth, Mississippi, reaching his destination in good spirits. En route he was impressed with "the crowds of people at every station to greet us. And at every town and village we saw the Confederate flag floating in the breeze."²¹

Thus, by the end of May, Bolling, Crenshaw, and John Hall were privates in the Sixth Alabama Infantry near Corinth, Mississippi.²² On Friday, June 6, the Sixth was ordered to Northern Virginia.²³

¹⁶Compiled Military Service Record of James A. Hall, R.G. 109, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

¹⁷John Hall, Auburn, Ala., to Father, September 14, 1860.

¹⁸John Hall, Corinth, Miss., to Sister, May 31, 1861.

¹⁹Frank E. Vandiver, **Rebel Brass** (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1956), states that "the army had to turn down over two hundred thousand volunteers in 1861 because there were no arms available with which to equip them."

²⁰Compiled Military Service Record of John E. Hall, R. G. 109, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

²¹John Hall, Corinth, Miss., to Father, May 26, 1861

²²As far as is known, James did not enter the army until late in the summer of 1861.

²³Crenshaw Hall, Lynchburg, Va., to Father, June 13, 1861.

By June 11 Bolling was two miles from Manassas Junction on the road to Alexandria, having arrived at that place by box cars "so crowded that there was no chance to sleep at all . . ."²⁴ He had heard rumors that there were 15,000 Confederate troops in the vicinity. The army was busy throwing up breastworks in anticipation of a battle which many believed would take place "in two days or less or it may be a month."²⁵ General Beauregard had asked one of the men in Bolling's regiment, "How is the regiment named?" The answer came back sharply, "Rifles." Beauregard replied, "I am glad of that for I will give you some shooting to do in a day or two."²⁶

On Friday, June 13, Crenshaw wrote his father on stationery with the following call to arms in the upper left-hand corner:

To Arms! To Arms! ye southern braves!

The avenging sword unsheath,

And 'round your heads, or o'er your graves

Entwine the laurel wreath.²⁷

Crenshaw was, however, quick to temper this patriotic sentiment with a rather severe appraisal of Colonel Seibels' discipline. He wrote, "Col. Seibels is absolutely severe." Crenshaw was impressed

. . . that we have started from every place on Friday. We started from Montgomery on Friday, Corinth Friday, from Lynchburg, Friday. The men now think that every engagement will take place on Friday.²⁸

²⁴Bolling Hall, Jr., two miles from Manassas Junction, Va., to Father, June 16, 1861.

²⁵Bolling Hall, Jr., Manassas Junction, Va., to Father, June 11, 1861.

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷Crenshaw Hall, Lynchburg, Va., to Father, June 13, 1861.

²⁸Crenshaw Hall, Fairfax Station, Va., to Father, June 22, 1861.

By June 20 General Beauregard had nineteen infantry regiments, which he organized into six brigades. The Sixth Alabama was in the Second Brigade, commanded by Brigadier General R. S. "Dick" Ewell, of the First Corps of the Army of the Potomac.²⁹ Crenshaw reported that the brigade was "made up of Alabama, Carolina, and Louisiana regiments."³⁰

Of his new commander, he observed:

Our soldiers though ignorant of General Ewell's history are disposed to think favorably of him. He is a splendid horseman and I believe has made his reputation fighting Indians as a trooper colonel in the Cavalry.³¹

By June 22 the Hall boys had shifted to Fairfax Station, a position about eight miles from Manassas Junction and seventeen from Alexandria.³² The brigade was moving to the right of the main concentration of the Confederate Army. During this time the letters of the Hall boys reflect the mounting tension. Crenshaw reported that "on picket duty Bolling challenged a dog and I a rabbit."³³ Bolling wrote home requesting a bowie knife, sidearms, and a nightcap.³⁴ The nightcap he had was so large that it would "fit a barrel almost."³⁵ John complained of false alarms which caused the men to rush out to do battle only to be recalled without having fired a shot.³⁶ Every rumor was passed on until they became the main source of conversation among the soldiers. Practically every letter written by the Hall boys during the latter part of June mentioned a report or rumor of what the enemy was doing or about to do.³⁷ For example, the Yankees had "insulted the people and were nothing more than thieves and robbers."³⁸ An outbreak of measles in camp made it necessary to move the sick thirty-five or forty miles to Culpepper Courthouse. Crenshaw estimated that the regiment had lost ten

²⁹Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. II, 943-944.

³⁰Crenshall Hall, Fairfax Station, Va., to Father, July 13, 1861.

³¹*Ibid.*

³²Crenshall Hall, Fairfax Station, Va., to Father, June 26, 1861.

³³*Ibid.*

³⁴Bolling Hall, Jr., to Father, Manassas Junction, Va., June 16, 1861.

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶John Hall, Fairfax Station, Va., to Father, July 1, 1861.

³⁷Crenshaw Hall, Fairfax Station, Va., to Father, July 13, 1861.

³⁸Bolling Hall, Jr., Union Ford, Va., to James, July 1, 1861.

or twelve dead(mostly from measles.³⁹ By the end of June, Crenshaw himself was sick with what he described as "a fever."

The events leading to the first major battle of the war were rather unspectacular. There had been minor skirmishes with Union forces during the early part of July. In fact, Bolling was involved in one such skirmish. No one was killed, nor even injured, and Colonel Seibels told Bolling's company, "Well, boys, it was glorious but imprudent."⁴⁰ The men in the ranks thought that the Confederates were going to attack Alexandria.⁴¹ Actually an attack on Alexandria had been in the mind of Beauregard, but when the plan was presented it was tactfully dismissed by President Davis.⁴²

By July 17 it became certain that General Irvin McDowell's Federal forces were on the offensive. His move was toward Manassas Junction. Against the superior forces marching to attack him, Beauregard was not confident that he could hold his own, and fell back to the south side of Bull Run Creek.⁴³

Crenshaw reported that in the retreat the Sixth Alabama was . . . in the rear of all for the first two miles. I thought my legs would fail me in a very trying hour, but as I preceded (sic), I still maintained my strength. We burned the bridges on the road (Rail Road) as we retreated. At length after (sic) four or five miles distance from here we reached a stream called Bull Run. Our retreat was accomplished between one and three. We did not cross the stream. In an hour Major Gordon came up with his battalion. He was much excited and said, "He had seen the enemy."⁴⁴

The reason Crenshaw's legs had nearly failed him was that he was still sick with fever.

³⁹Crenshaw Hall, Fairfax Station, Va., to Father, July 13, 1861.

⁴⁰Bolling Hall, Jr., Fairfax Station, Va., to Father, July 4, 1861.

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²Alfred Roman, **The Military Operations of General Beauregard** (2 vols., New York: Harper, 1884), I, 7.

⁴³Roman, **Beauregard**, I, 92.

⁴⁴Crenshaw Hall, Manassas Junction, Va., to Father, July 19, 1861.

Following the retreat, the main concentration of the Confederate Army was a few miles in front of Manassas Junction. Ewell's Brigade was on the extreme right at Union Mills Ford.⁴⁶

The battle at Manassas Junction was over by July 22, and the Confederates had accomplished the first important victory of the war. The Hall boys, however, had very little to write home about, inasmuch as Crenshaw had been sick and did not participate, and Bolling and John had been with Ewell's command on the far right which was not seriously engaged. "Of the results of battle," Bolling stated candidly, "you have more correct knowledge than I."⁴⁶ He believed that the Confederates had taken over "fifty pieces of artillery . . . killed over ten thousand and taken no one knows how many prisoners and thousands upon thousands of arms and ammunition."⁴⁷ Some Negroes who had been into the Northern lines after the battle reported that the "wounded would raise up and beg them to carry them away out of the rain . . ."⁴⁸ John sent a copy of Beauregard's and Johnston's congratulatory proclamation to his father with a letter stating that he himself had never seen the battlefield.⁴⁹

On July 28 Bolling was promoted to corporal, Company L, Sixth Alabama Regiment.⁵⁰ Crenshaw was sent to Charlottesville "to remain untill perfectly well."⁵¹ Bolling and John stayed at Union Mills Ford near Manassas Junction.⁵²

During the lull in activity, the men had some time to reflect on the war and the future. There seemed to be impatience with the inactivity of the army. Bolling complained

⁴⁶Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. II, Pt. III, 440.

⁴⁷Bolling Hall, Jr., n.p., to (unidentified), n.d.

⁴⁸Ibid. The Confederates sent to Richmond 550 wounded and 871 other prisoners. Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. II, 521. The Federals' loss was 25 guns, 481 killed, 1,011 wounded, 1,176 missing. Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. II, 327-328.

⁴⁹Bolling Hall, Jr., n.p., to (unidentified), n.d.

⁵⁰John Hall, Manassas, Va., to Father, August 1, 1861.

⁵¹Compiled Military Service Record of Bolling Hall, Jr., R.G. 109, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

⁵²John Hall, Manassas, Va., to Father, August 1, 1861. Crenshaw was dismissed from the hospital August 13, 1861. Compiled Military Service Record of Crenshaw Hall.

⁶²Bolling Hall, Jr., Union Ford near Manassas Junction, Va., to Father, August 2, 1861.

that "we are now at the same old place that we started from."⁵³

After rejoining his brothers, Crenshaw thought that . . . the war will continue till the North has lost control of money and men—their hatred is too great—this added to the immense interest they have in preserving the union will give them a sneering patriotism which will require of us many hard fought battles.⁵⁴

Bolling doubted that peace would come soon.⁵⁵

In August Bolling groaned, "Drilling everyday—very hot and dull times";⁵⁶ and later, ". . . our employment is the same as ever—a very dull routine it is." However, all was not dull. There was work, such as rebuilding the railroad bridges that had been burned in the retreat caused by General McDowell's opening offensive.⁵⁷ John bragged that his tent was "finely fixed up for we have managed to get enough hay to cover the ground and make a good bed of it."⁵⁸ The boys were so eager that their father visit them, but he was unable to come.

A good deal of sickness prevailed in the army. Bolling calculated that there had been "an average of a burial every day in the regiment for the last two weeks or more."⁵⁹ Not only physical disease plagued the army, but also homesickness. John dreamed about how fine it would be to "eat those beautiful apples and peaches" on his father's plantation.⁶⁰ Bolling reminisced about "fishing and hunting" back home.⁶¹ He also wanted to know how many brick his father had made and how many shade trees had died.⁶²

⁵³Bolling Hall, Jr., Sangster's Crossroads, Va., to Father, August 18, 1861.

⁵⁴Crenshaw Hall, Sangster's Crossroads, Va., to Father, August 14, 1861.

⁵⁵Bolling Hall, Jr., Sangster's Crossroads, Va., to Father, September 1, 1861.

⁵⁶Bolling Hall, Jr., Union Mills Ford, Va., to Laura, August 11, 1861.

⁵⁷Bolling Hall, Jr., Sangster's Crossroads, Va., to Father, August 18, 1861.

⁵⁸John Hall, n.p., to his Sister, August 10, 1861.

⁵⁹Bolling Hall, Jr., Sangster's Crossroads, Va., to (unidentified), September 13, 1861.

⁶⁰John Hall, Union Mills Ford, Va., to Laura, August 1, 1861.

⁶¹Bolling Hall, Jr., Union Mills Ford, Va., to Father, August 2, 1861.

⁶²Bolling Hall, Jr., Union Mills Ford, Va., to Laura, August 11, 1861.

The dullness of the day was on one occasion relieved by the passage of Yankee prisoners through camp. "The Yankees were," Crenshaw had to admit, "quite good looking for Yankee volunteers and were very respectably armed and equipped."⁶³

However, toward the end of the year he expressed to his sister his great destestation for the enemy. "The men I am trying to kill are not like the men you see everyday—they look just like us but their hearts are mean."⁶⁴

With the advent of autumn, the Bolling Hall boys started requesting luxuries for the winter. They wanted gloves, boots, blankets, woolen socks, books (Hardee's *Tactics* and Rollins' *Ancient History* were mentioned), letter paper, envelopes, five or six good lead pencils, and a "negro to do the cooking."⁶⁵

Bolling reminded the family back home that the need for these things was great because their homes during the winter would be tents.⁶⁶

In addition to the everyday employment, Bolling and John were called out on scouting parties. On one such maneuver they moved within three miles of Alexandria "and could see very distinctly the breastworks" of the enemy.⁶⁷ Bolling could not understand how two large armies "could stand watching the movements of each other without some important engagements." He reported that "our pickets and the enemies' are in constant collision." Because of this, he felt that "a great battle would be fought "before winter sets in."⁶⁸

In October the enemy provided some spice for camp life by putting an observation balloon over Confederate territory. The men tried to bring it to earth by taking pot shots at it as it hovered high above them. Bolling write, "I see him where

⁶³Crenshaw Hall, Sangster's Crossroads, Va., to Laura, September 12, 1861.

⁶⁴Crenshaw Hall, Bull Run, Va., to Carrie, November 14, 1861.

⁶⁵John Hall, n.p., to Father, November 3, 1861.

⁶⁶Bolling Hall, Jr., Sangster's Crossroads, Va., to Father, September 1, 1861.

⁶⁷John Hall, Sangster's Crossroads, Va., to Father, September 3, 1861.

⁶⁸Bolling Hall, Jr., n.p., to Father, September 16, 1861.

I sit. It is about the size of my fist."⁶⁹

The army prepared for winter by building log houses. The house in which Bolling, Crenshaw, and John lived was, however, a single room made of cloth "just like negroe clothes." They had no beds and pillows, but slept on straw that felt "right soft to our bones" after they had walked all day.⁷⁰ By December the boys had managed to build a log house.⁷¹

During the late fall, the Sixth Alabama was reassigned and placed in Rodes' Brigade, First Division, Potomac District.⁷² According to Bolling, the brigade was on the right of the army and the regiment was on the right of the division.⁷³

Considerable displeasure with the officers was expressed by the Hall boys. Bolling described Robert Rodes as a "tyrant who drinks very hard" and Van Dorn as a "hair brained fool who also drinks hard."⁷⁴ Colonel Seibels' brother, a major in the regiment, challenged the surgeon of the regiment to a duel. The surgeon shot Major Seibels in the left breast.⁷⁵ This event seemed to provide some release from the monotony of camp life.

Thomas B. Hall, who would be the fifth of Bolling Hall's sons to enter the service, was still in school in 1861. Tom had had ambitions to volunteer, but was induced to return to school at Tuscaloosa. This decision pleased Bolling, who wrote to him to "do his best at school in order not to disappoint father."⁷⁶

For Bolling, Crenshaw, and John, the remaining days of 1861 were filled with minor skirmishes and preparation to resist an attack by the enemy. The men were busy "throwing up embankments and cutting down trees."⁷⁷ In November, ac-

⁶⁹Bolling Hall, Jr., Sangster's Crossroads, Va., to Father, October 4, 1861.

⁷⁰Crenshaw Hall, Bull Run, Va., to Carrie, November 14, 1861.

⁷¹John Hall, Union Mills, Va., to Father, November 27, 1861.

⁷²Roman, *Beauregard*, I, 481.

⁷³Bolling Hall, Jr., Union Mills, Va., to Father, November 19, 1861.

⁷⁴Bolling Hall, Jr., Davis Ford, Va., to Father, December 21, 1861.

⁷⁵John Hall, Union Mills, Va., to (unidentified), November 27, 1861.

⁷⁶Bolling Hall, Jr., Sangster's Crossroads, Va., to Tom, October 11, 1861.

⁷⁷Bolling Hall, Jr., Union Mills, Va., to Father, November 12, 1861.

cording to Bolling, "From this point to Centerville is a complete line of breast works and fortifications."⁷⁸ The boys disliked picketing in camp life, and they complained about it to their father. They also complained of the scarcity of food⁷⁹ and the inadequacy of clothing. Bolling had to trade pants to get some that fit him.⁸⁰ Bolling was discouraged because he had not received a promotion. If it were not forthcoming, he would take a "resting spell when my time is out." According to Bolling, this was the feeling which prevailed in the regiment.⁸¹ To add to their disappointments, the Hall boys had been denied furloughs for the Christmas holidays.⁸²

The Sixth Alabama spent Christmas, 1861, in an advanced position of the Confederate army. The enemy was close at hand. But on Christmas Day Colonel Seibels provided whiskey rations and the threat that if "there were any riotous conduct he would have every one arrested." Bolling's description of the celebration was simply, "You may imagine they were all a jolly set here. Everything went well though many were drunk."⁸³

Information concerning James Hall from the time of his arrival in Iuka, Mississippi, late in the summer of 1861 to the end of the year is very scarce, deriving mainly from four of his letters. Prior to September 4 James attached himself to Captain T. L. Faulkner's Company, Autauga Guards.⁸⁴ Captain Faulkner had obtained from the Secretary of War promises that he would be accepted if they armed and equipped themselves. This they did, though their weapons were shotguns instead of muskets or rifles. According to James, the company had an opportunity to join his brothers' regiment, but Captain Faulkner waited too long to make his decision.⁸⁵ The company, at this time, was at Montgomery, Alabama.

⁷⁸Bolling Hall, Jr., Union Mills, Va., to Father, November 19, 1861.

⁷⁹John Hall, Union Mills, Va., to Father, November 3, 1861.

⁸⁰Bolling Hall, Jr., Sangster's Crossroads, Va., to Father, October 14, 1861.

⁸¹Bolling Hall, Jr., Davis Ford, Va., to Father, December 26, 1861.

⁸²*Ibid.*

⁸³*Ibid.*

⁸⁴James Hall, Iuka, Miss., to Father, September 24, 1861.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*

James was elected orderly sergeant on September 4.⁸⁵ He had been offered the third lieutenantcy but had refused. When his brother Bolling learned of this he wrote, "I was very much surprised at Jim's giving up 3rd Lieutent for orderly seargeant (sic). 3rd Lieutenant entitles one (sic) to carry along a trunk besides other privileges and also it is the easiest office in the company. Orderly seargeant is the hardest and has no more privileges than a private. I never was so astonished."⁸⁷ James admitted that his position as orderly sergeant was "responsible and laborious."⁸⁸

On September 21 James' company, numbering 106 rank and file, was sent to Iuka, Mississippi, which James described as a "very pretty place." They were still uncertain what regiment they would be placed in and how long they would remain in Iuka.⁸⁹ On September 24 Captain Faulkner received an order from General Leonidas Polk at Columbus, Kentucky, to report to Union City, Tennessee. Having traveled to Union City by rail, the company there made application to General Polk to place them in an Alabama regiment if possible. By October 4 they had been assigned to Lt. Colonel Blythe's Forty-Fourth Mississippi Infantry Regiment.⁹⁰ From Union City they were ordered to join General Polk in Columbus, Kentucky, where they arrived on October 3.⁹¹

Columbus was a key point in the defense of the Mississippi River. When General Polk had superseded General Gideon J. Pillow as commander of what was called Department Number 2, he had begun to concentrate on the defenses of the Mississippi. He seized Columbus on September 4, barely getting there before an ambitious and active Federal commander by the name of U. S. Grant. The immediate task before Polk was to fortify Columbus and make it impregnable.

After James arrived in Columbus, he described the town as "200 yds. wide and a mile long, right on the high bank of

⁸⁵Compiled Military Service Record of James A. Hall.

⁸⁶Bolling Hall, Jr., n.p., to Father, September 16, 1861.

⁸⁷James Hall, Columbus, Ky., to Father, October 5, 1861.

⁸⁸James Hall, Iuka, Miss., to Father, September 22, 1861.

⁸⁹James Hall, Columbus, Ky., to Father, October 4, 1861.

⁹¹James Hall, Columbus, Ky., to Father, October 3, 1861.

the Mississippi River.”⁶² He estimated the forces “in and around this place as from 25-50,000.” During October there was little excitement except that the “Lincolnites” came down the river and threw a few shells into Columbus. James reported to his father that entrenchments were being dug and batteries planted.

James first “heard the rattle of musketry and the whistle of balls” at the battle of Belmont, November 7, 1861.⁶³ Belmont was a small village just across the river from Columbus. Federal forces under the command of U. S. Grant moved down from Cairo, Illinois, to begin their campaign for the Mississippi River. The enemy took a position at Belmont, and the Confederates crossed over the river to drive them away. Stanley Horn says that the battle of Belmont “was a military engagement in its simplest and most elementary form—two approximately equal bodies of infantry fighting in parallel facing lines.”⁶⁴ Both Federal and Confederate troops were, for the most part, inexperienced. After a brisk fight the Federals retired from Belmont and returned to Cairo. Both sides claimed victory. Blythe’s Forty-Fourth Mississippi Infantry apparently had little to do with the main action, but did follow the retreating enemy toward the shore and fire at their boats as they steamed away.⁶⁵ The Federal drive for the Mississippi River appeared to have been thwarted.

Throughout the remainder of the year, James remained at Columbus. Like his brothers he made requests for “luxuries” such as “A pillow and anything in the way of eatables . . . boots, also some letter paper and some steel pens.” Except that Yankee gunboats menaced Columbus with small-scale bombardments, there was little excitement for James. The threat of a renewed Yankee attack did demand, however, that the Confederates be ready to spring to their guns “at a moment’s warning.”⁶⁶

⁶²James Hall, Columbus, Ky., to Father, October 5, 1861.

⁶³*Ibid.*

⁶⁴Stanley Horn, *The Army of Tennessee* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1941), p. 65.

⁶⁵*Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VII, 774-775.

⁶⁶James Hall, Columbus, Ky., to Laura, November 22, 1861.

CHAPTER II

1862

On January 1, 1862, Bolling wrote from Davis Ford, Virginia, a letter to his father that reflected both hope and despair. It sounded the note of despair because his furlough had been knocked in the head. At the same time, there was an element of hope in that he was thinking seriously about the possibility of raising a company of men from Autauga County for service in the Confederate States Army. Such a task would require a considerable leave of absence, and the prospect was most engaging. Bolling asked his father if he thought "a company of men could be raised in Autauga County."

Evidently the idea of raising a company originated with Colonel John Seibels, who was himself considering a project to raise a brigade. In a letter to Major Bolling Hall discussing the matter at length, Colonel Seibels sounded as if he were moved toward the venture more by dissatisfaction with the army than by patriotism.¹ In a postscript he observed: "What a disaster in Kentucky. The first serious one of the war. It all comes of appointing West Pointers to office." Seibels was also disappointed with the inactivity of the army. The next spring he wrote that he had "determined not to serve any longer, unless the battle here should come off soon."²

Entering wholeheartedly into an attempt to realize his son's ambition, Bolling Hall, Sr., went to Richmond to use his influence in securing permission for Bolling to raise a company of men and the furlough to do it. He took with him letters of introduction to Jefferson Davis and John H. Reagan.³ In January permission to enlist men and muster them into service for the war was granted Bolling by the Secretary of War.

¹Colonel John Seibels, Camp Davis Ford, Va., to Bolling Hall, Sr., January 24, 1862.

²Colonel John Seibels, Yorktown, Va., to Bolling Hall, Sr., April 23, 1862.

³John C. Duval, Montgomery, Ala., to Hon. John Reagan, January 12, 1861; John C. Duval, Montgomery, Ala., to Hon. Jefferson Davis, January 12, 1862.

Bolling and his father entered the project with an understanding of what was involved. In the first place, the company must consist of one hundred men. Secondly, it was to be raised at Hall's own expense.⁴ Thirdly, since companies elected their own officers, there could be no guarantee that Bolling would become an officer even though he and his father had done the work and paid the bills.⁵

By February, 1862, Bolling had enlisted his company.⁶ One hundred and one men had signed a statement agreeing "to assume all the duties, responsibilities, and obligations of volunteers in three years of the war in the Confederate States service." Bolling was elected captain on March 16, 1862,⁷ and was sent with his company to Virginia as an addition to the Sixth Alabama Infantry Regiment, which had been reassigned to Brigadier-General Robert Rodes' brigade, General Beauregard's District, on January 14, 1862.⁸

In April, 1862, Bolling Hall, Sr., was again involved in the army careers of his sons. He procured from Colonel H. W. Hilliard a letter to the Hon. Jefferson Davis.

I take pleasure in handing a letter of introduction to my friend Bolling Hall, Esq. to be presented to the President. Mr. Hall is a gentleman of the highest respect, ability, and of large social and political influence. He visits Richmond with the view of having his two sons now in service for twelve months transferred to my legion for the war. In every respect Mr. Hall is worthy of the President's consideration, and will, I hope, succeed in his wishes.⁹

As Hilliard's letter intimates, he was in the process of organizing his own legion of men in April. The culmination of Hall's and Hilliard's efforts did not occur until June 25, 1862, when the organization was completed.¹⁰

⁴Memorandum, War Department, Confederate States of America, Richmond, Va., January 24, 1862.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶Compiled Military Service Record of Bolling Hall, Jr.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. V, 1029.

⁹Colonel H. W. Hilliard, Montgomery, Ala., to Hon. Jefferson Davis, April 19, 1862.

¹⁰B. W. Brewer, *Alabama, Her History, Resources, War Record and Public Men* (Montgomery: Barrett and Brown, 1872), 597.

While Bolling Hall, Sr., sought the transfer of his three sons, military momentum increased for the Sixth Alabama Infantry Regiment. As a part of Robert Rodes' Brigade in D. H. Hill's division, the Sixth left the Rapidan on April 6 and arrived at Yorktown on April 10 to confront General McClellan's peninsular campaign.¹¹ The men worked building an adequate defense around Yorktown, heavy details being employed day and night to "remedy to defects, strengthen the entrenchments, and secure shelter for the men."¹²

On May 3 the Confederate Army moved out of Yorktown. The Sixth Alabama Infantry reached Williamsburg about sunrise on the 4th and rested a day. After leaving Williamsburg on the morning of May 5, they returned immediately when the enemy engaged General Longstreet at Williamsburg, but did not become involved in the fight.¹³

On May 6 the Confederates left Williamsburg under severe conditions. A storm had driven thousands of men into barns and outhouses, and it was difficult to get them to come out. The troops were cold, hungry, and tired. For three days they had received no regular issue of rations and had subsisted on parched corn or by living off the land. The army came to rest at Long Bridge, on the Chickahominy River.¹⁴

Toward the end of May, Bolling, Crenshaw, and John took part in the Battle of Seven Pines. Rodes' Brigade was on picket duty on the Charles City Road. By noon of May 30 it became known that the Federals were approaching on the Williamsburg Road. When this was reported to Johnston, he ordered Hill to serve with Longstreet and under his orders. Longstreet ordered Hill to prepare to meet the Federals on the Williamsburg Road at dawn.¹⁵ Rodes' Brigade was on the right of the road. When the command was given to attack, the Sixth Alabama Infantry Regiment and the Twelfth Mississippi Infantry Regiment were the first to be thrown into the contest. The two regiments met the enemy head on in

¹¹Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. II, Pt. 1, 601.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XI, Pt. I, 602.

¹⁴Ibid., 605.

furious fighting; after a few minutes they withdrew sixty yards to the rear and reformed.¹⁶ A Federal battery opened fire on the Sixth Alabama across an open field. Rodes ordered the Sixth to abandon and take a position behind a fence and an abandoned breastwork. When reinforcements arrived, the brigade moved forward, "encountering a heavy fire of musketry and artillery from the enemy concealed behind a second row of abatis, woods, and fence."¹⁷ The Sixth Alabama suffered severely in this second advance. John said of his company that "We went into the engagement with 46 privates, five sergeants (sic) and three commissioned officers, all of the commissioned officers were killed."¹⁸ After fighting bravely the regiment had to fall back to a position previously held. There they were under constant fire of musketry for three hours until they were finally replaced by reinforcements. John was the only son to say anything about the Battle of Seven Pines or Fair Oaks. He reported, as well he might, that the regiment had suffered greatly.¹⁹ Rodes in his official report estimated that the Sixth Alabama "lost near 60 percent of its aggregate force. Some of its men were drowned after having been wounded, as they fought at times in a swamp in which the water was from 6 inches to 2 feet in depth."²⁰ Bolling had been shot in the arm. John had been wounded in the leg and wrote from Richmond, where he was probably in a hospital. The Yankees had, he said, "fought well when they could get behind trees,"²¹ and the regiment had suffered greatly.

Following the battle at Seven Pines, a major change took place in the army careers of the Hall boys. Bolling's company was transferred from the Sixth Alabama Infantry Regiment to Colonel Hilliard's new Legion. Bolling became on June 25 lieutenant-colonel commanding the Second Battalion of six companies.²² Private John Hall now became third lieutenant in Company E, Second Battalion, Hilliard's Legion.²³ And

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 943.

¹⁶*Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XI, Pt. I, 972.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 973.

¹⁸John Hall, Richmond, Va., to Father, June 3, 1862.

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰*Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XI, Pt. I, 976.

²¹John Hall, Richmond, Va., to Father, June 3, 1862.

²²Compiled Military Service Record of Bolling Hall, Jr.

²³Compiled Military Service Record of John Hall.

Private Crenshaw Hall became adjutant of the Second Battalion, Hilliard's Legion, under Bolling.²⁴

Organized at Montgomery, the Legion consisted of five battalions, one of them mounted. A postwar writer credits the Legion with 3,000 men, but a more reliable report by Secretary of War G. W. Randolph in July, 1862, places the strength at 1,200.²⁵ On July 4 the Legion was ordered to Atlanta, and on July 11 to Chattanooga.²⁶ Thus by midsummer, 1862, three sons of Bolling Hall were under new commands, had received promotions, and were moving into a new theater of action.

At the beginning of 1862, James Hall was still stationed at Columbus, Kentucky. Early in January his regiment was placed in the brigade commanded by Major-General B. F. Cheatham.²⁷ It was believed by the Confederate command that the Federals would make an attempt to take Columbus, Fort Henry, and Fort Donelson, the river forts that stood as sentinels in the defense of Western Tennessee. In January a Federal force of 6,000 began overland from Cairo to engage Columbus while Major-General U. S. Grant moved against Fort Henry and Fort Donelson. This step toward Columbus kept the Confederates alert. James wrote about going to bed one night and hearing "a mile off . . . a sharp ringing sound like the crack of a rifle." The shots continued and then "I heard a voice in camp crying out, to arouse, to arouse, they are upon us."²⁸ James reported that life in camp was continually being interrupted with false alarms. There was no battle at Columbus.

Fort Henry surrendered on February 6 and Fort Donelson on February 16. Of the three successive defeats of Fishing Creek, Kentucky, January 19, 20, Roanoke Island, North Carolina, February 8, and Fort Henry, February 6, young James Hall wrote:

I don't like our army being defeated but so far as the South is concerned I rejoice at it as it is no great loss.

²⁴Compiled Military Service Record of Crenshaw Hall.

²⁵*Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XVI, 747-748.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 726.

²⁷James Hall, Columbus, Ky., to Laura, January 14, 1862.

²⁸*Ibid.*

I hope it may cause a draft of such men as Northington who was so anxious to bring on the war—so ready and willing to “shed the last drop of his blood in defense of the South.”²⁹

The fall of Fort Donelson, the evacuation of Nashville, and plans for a concentration at Corinth, Mississippi, made it necessary to abandon Columbus.³⁰ On February 25 orders were given for the sick to be removed, along with commissary and ordnance stores of every description. The heavy guns were pulled away from their positions, and the army evacuated Columbus by February 27. Remaining until the next day to supervise the completion of the work, General Polk and his staff and cavalry then set fire to the quarters and other buildings representing months of hard work. Two 32-pounders in a remote work was about all that was left behind of military value. A biographical sketch of James Hall in the Bolling Hall Papers pictures James’ retiring from Columbus with the thought that “they had been only mock soldiers in comparison to that which was to be.”³¹ General Cheatham took his division to Union City, Tennessee, and thence to Bethel on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad near a place called Shiloh, Tennessee.

The concentration of Confederate forces at Corinth was the initial maneuver in a series that led finally to one of the costliest engagements of the war in the West, the battle of Shiloh or Pittsburg Landing, April 6, 7, 1862. James described the battle of Shiloh perfectly in a few words. “The first day we carried everything before us and gained a glorious victory. The second day the game was drawn.”³² As to his own role, a “minie ball did pass under my arm once when I had raised it and passed through the cape of my overcoat.”³³ His family had heard that it had been a cannon ball. To an inquiry about the use of bayonets in the battle, he answered that “whenever we were ordered to charge we started with a double quick and a shout. The Yankees wouldn’t let us get in fifty yards of

²⁹James Hall, Columbus, Ky., to Father, February 15, 1862.

³⁰Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. VII, 437.

³¹Bolling Hall Papers, Ramsdell Collection, Ser. I, No. 321, an undated and unidentified letter.

³²James Hall, Corinth, Miss., to Laura, April 22, 1862.

³³Ibid.

them but would run for their lives." James was proud of the fact that his comrades from Autauga had fought bravely. "Not one of them turned their backs on the enemy unless when ordered."³⁴ Of his company of forty-four, three were killed and seventeen wounded, "making nearly half our number."³⁵

The one extant letter from James at Corinth was written after his experiences at Shiloh. He had "not been well since the battle," but thought his sickness not of a serious nature. His entire letter gave the impression that he was very despondent. He had very little to say about the battle, but a great deal to say concerning a false concept that people had about soldiers:

You may think the soldier's life is a gay one and that he does not think much of the home, and of those he left behind. It might be so with those who joined the army for money or for fun. But with those who left their homes and friends with a smiling countenance and an aching heart, it is very, very different.

His company was in poor condition. And to make matters even worse, the weather was miserable, "raining forever."³⁶

James was later sent to Canton, Mississippi, where he remained for some time convalescing from his illness. "My constitution has been tried too severely," he wrote. To his brother he declared:

The news is always old that reaches us from Corinth and very conflicting. But (it) seems to predict an early commencement of that desparate (sic) and bloody conflict which will make the bloodiest page in the history of our Confederacy. Oh that I may be there in that struggle.³⁷

By June 9, 1862, the Confederate forces had retreated from Corinth to Tupelo, Mississippi. James was stationed at Saltillo about twelve miles in front of Tupelo "between the

³⁴James Hall, Canton, Miss., to Tom, May 24, 1862.

³⁶James Hall, Corinth, Miss., to Laura, April 22, 1862.

³⁷*Ibid.*

³⁷James Hall, Canton, Miss., to Tom, May 24, 1862.

main army and the enemy.”³⁸ On June 27 Braxton Bragg replaced an ailing Beauregard as commander of the Army of Mississippi.³⁹ Bragg began at once to reorganize the army and to build it into a striking force again. James wrote that “since Bragg has superseded Beauregard there have been some alterations here. We are now in Chalmer’s Brigade, Wither’s Division. Our division has been transferred to the reserve corps. We belong to the Army of Mississippi.”⁴⁰

On June 28 Tom Hall appeared on the scene, surprising his brother James at Saltillo.⁴¹ Placed in the same outfit with James, Tom began at once to complain of the food. They were compelled to subsist on “nothing but biscuits without a particle of grease and hardly any salt.” Sometimes they were fortunate enough to have molasses and a little beef with a small piece of “bacon for grease.” Tom was impressed with the severity of Bragg’s discipline, noting that he was still “having men shot, but I think from just causes now.”⁴² James urged his father to send him as soon as possible “two pairs of drawers and socks.”⁴³ He was making every effort to get transferred to Hilliard’s Legion, which was still stationed at Montgomery, but without success.

Early in June Federal forces under the command of Don Carlos Buell began to move toward Chattanooga from Corinth. The purpose of this maneuver was summed up by General Henry Halleck, commanding officer of Federal forces before Corinth: “By moving on Chattanooga you prevent a junction between (Kirby) Smith and Beauregard (who had not yet been relieved by Bragg) and are on direct line to Atlanta. Smith must abandon East Tennessee or be captured.”⁴⁴ Also Buell’s advance from Corinth toward Chattanooga set off a series of Confederate counter moves which involved the Bolling Hall boys.⁴⁵ Hilliard’s Legion was ordered from Montgomery

³⁸Tom Hall, Saltillo, Miss., to Laura, July 12, 1862.

³⁹Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 155.

⁴⁰James Hall, Saltillo, Miss., to Father, July 12, 1862.

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²Tom Hall, Saltillo, Miss., to Laura, July 12, 1862.

⁴³James Hall, Saltillo, Miss., to Father, July 12, 1862.

⁴⁴*Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIII, 9.

⁴⁵See K. P. Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General* (5 vols., New York: Macmillan Co., 1949-1959), III, 25-52, for Buell’s advance on Chattanooga and subsequent Confederate activity.

to Chattanooga to report to General J. P. McCowan. Bolling, John, and Crenshaw arrived in Chattanooga "safe and sound" on July 14.⁴⁶ Bolling was pleased to report to his father that General McCowan intended "to permit the Legion to remain as it is an independent organization to itself."⁴⁷ The illness of two officers in Captain Wise's Company E led Colonel Hilliard to approve a petition for the election of a second lieutenant in the company. John Hall was unanimously elected.⁴⁸

Although Buell was slowly moving toward Chattanooga, the letters of Bolling, Crenshaw, and John do not reflect any great concern. In one letter, for example, Bolling was more attentive to jealousy among the officers in the Legion than he was to Buell's threat. The derogatory manner in which officers talked in his presence about other officers left him with uncomfortable thoughts of what they probably said about him when he was not around.⁴⁹ John wrote stoically of having seen a man die. He "was perfectly well yesterday morning at breakfast. Such is nature."⁵⁰ And in another letter Bolling related that they were still foraging for food, and a good friend had been able to secure two hens. They ate one "and the other made a nest behind Johnny's trunk and laid an egg."⁵¹

When John heard about the defeat of Federal forces at Murfreesboro⁵ by Brigadier-General Nathan Forrest, he wrote a long letter to his father relaying General McCowan's description of what had happened.

You have seen accounts of the capture of Murfreesboro . . . If it had not been for the ladies of the place we would have been badly beaten . . . We captured the officers in one of the first movements made that is most of them including all the principle (sic) officers. But the men rallied together in the Courthouse and repulsed our forces severely. He (McCowan) says they were so discouraged that the officers could not get them to rally when just as

⁴⁶Bolling Hall, Jr., Chattanooga, Tenn., to Father, July 15, 1862.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸John Hall, Chattanooga, Tenn., to Father, July 15, 1862.

⁴⁹Bolling Hall, Jr., Chattanooga, Tenn., to Father, July 19, 1862.

⁵⁰John Hall, Chattanooga, Tenn., to Laura, July 16, 1862.

⁵¹Bolling Hall, Jr., Chattanooga, Tenn., to Father, August 3, 1862.

⁵²Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, IV, 39.

all seemed lost the ladies commenced rushing out in the streets waving handkerchiefs and shouting to our soldiers to go on. There was no trouble after that. The officers and men made another charge and the courthouse was taken.⁶³

By the end of July Federal forces were converging on Chattanooga. Bragg's over-all plan to meet the Federal threat in East Tennessee was to join Kirby Smith at Chattanooga and with his help "strike an effective blow through Middle Tennessee, gaining Buell's rear, dividing the Federal forces, and defeating them in detail."⁶⁴ It was Bragg's hope and prediction that before the Federals could discern his movements he could get to Chattanooga and, in front of Buell, cut off his transportation and have him in a tight place.⁶⁵

Bragg's whole army arrived in Chattanooga on Tuesday evening, July 29.⁶⁶ The Confederate infantry had come by rail via Mobile, Montgomery, and Atlanta. James wired his father from Mobile that he would be in Montgomery for a few hours, but there is no evidence that he or Tom saw their father. Tom described the trip to Chattanooga as a "glorious time." "The ladies would come down to every station bringing meat and with fruits and all kind of vegetables." He also implied that the ladies in Alabama were far more thoughtful toward the soldiers than the ladies in Mississippi, where they might let a soldier "perish for water."⁶⁷ In the meantime, Kirby Smith moved to get possession of East Tennessee so "as to make it a base for fall and winter operations."⁶⁸ Bolling, Crenshaw, and John were, as it turned out, to be a part of Kirby Smith's operations, while James and Tom were to remain with Bragg.

Early in August Smith made his move toward Knoxville, Tennessee. On August 3 Bolling wrote that he believed they would "leave probably Wednesday for Loudon about thirty miles this side of Knoxville to operate against Nashville."⁶⁹

⁶³John Hall, Chattanooga, Tennessee, to Father, July 21, 1862.

⁶⁴Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, IV, 11.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 41.

⁶⁷Tom Hall, Near Chattanooga, Tenn., to Father, August 9, 1862.

⁶⁸Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, IV, 10.

⁶⁹Bolling Hall, Jr., Chattanooga, Tenn., to Laura, August 3, 1862.

According to Crenshaw they arrived near Knoxville on August 6 and camped for three days: "tomorrow we leave for Maynardville 20 miles on the road to Cumberland Gap where there has been some skirmishing lately."⁶⁰ The boys were a part of the First Division, under Brigadier General Carter L. Stevenson.

As they marched toward the Gap, Bolling observed: "The people here are very hostile. They all openly confess their love for the Yankees. You find one in twenty who is true to the South. Most of the men are in the Lincoln Army but the women are here and talk as they please which is decidedly hostile to us."⁶¹ Besides this hostility, the Hall boys were confronted with mountains and poor roads. By August 11 they were "twenty-five miles northeast of Knoxville, and this evening will move up nearer Cumberland Gap."⁶²

Because the Union forces at the Gap under General George W. Morgan were too strong and too well fortified to be attacked successfully, Smith left Stevenson's division to watch them while he pushed forward with the rest of his army into central Kentucky. Crenshaw wrote that their first position was "about 2½ miles directly in front of the Gap."⁶³ Bolling was impressed by the strength of the Federal position. The guns mounted on the tops of the mountains on either side of the Gap commanded "the whole country around for four or five miles."⁶⁴

Bolling, Crenshaw, and John were dissatisfied with the inactivity and the monotony of keeping an eye on the enemy at Cumberland Gap. John complained that they had no news. "I hate to write so little but cannot help it when we are stuck in the woods where we have not seen a house in three weeks."⁶⁵ Bolling said the whole experience was like being "some distance out of the world."⁶⁶ Crenshaw remarked that "occasion-

⁶⁰Crenshaw Hall, near Knoxville, Tenn., to Father, August 9, 1862.

⁶¹Bolling Hall, Jr., near Maynardville, Tenn., to Father, August 11, 1862.

⁶²Crenshaw Hall, near Knoxville, Tenn., to Father, August 9, 1862.

⁶³Crenshaw Hall, near Cumberland Gap, to Father, September 1, 1862.

⁶⁴Bolling Hall, Jr., Camp three miles from Cumberland Gap, to Sister, August 27, 1862. According to a Union source in the **Official Records**, Ser. I, Vol. XVI, 992, they had mounted thirty-two guns.

⁶⁵John Hall, near Cumberland Gap, to Father, September 16, 1862.

⁶⁶Bolling Hall, Jr., Camp near Cumberland Gap, to Sister, August 27, 1862.

ally a shot and shell pass harmlessly by, but yesterday the ire of the Yankees was specially provoked and they complimented us several times with missiles of war."⁶⁷

Small talk from the boys at Cumberland Gap ranged on subject matter from barefooted Union girls to poor mail service. Bolling told his sister that his horse Lucy was more admirable than many of the girls he had seen because "she seems to comprehend the full importance of her position and . . . will never be induced to join the Yankees as she is thoroughly for the rights of the South."⁶⁸ John moaned that he had not seen "anything like a pretty young lady" since he left home. In fact, he admitted that he "should be frightened at the sight of one."⁶⁹

Crenshaw heard that Bragg was in Nashville (he was not) and that

our army in Virginia is again in the neighborhood of Manassas. I believe that the most patriotic sons of the South are now battling for our rights in old Va. We will remember that they are the troops who first entered the service of the country and who have braved many dangers and hardships with but little murmuring.⁷⁰

Kirby Smith's "turning movement" and his decided victory at Richmond, Kentucky, on August 30, rendered Cumberland Gap untenable for the Federal forces, and General Morgan evacuated the position on the night of September 17.⁷¹ John understood that Smith had captured "something like 10,000 who were on the way to reinforce the Gap."⁷² A more accurate report of the number captured would be forty-five hundred. When Stevenson moved somewhat tardily in pursuit of Morgan's forces, they were able to retreat into Kentucky. Hilliard's

⁶⁷Crenshaw Hall, near Cumberland Gap, to Father, September 1, 1862.

⁶⁸Bolling Hall, Jr., Camp three miles from Cumberland Gap, to Sister, August 27, 1862.

⁶⁹John Hall, near Cumberland Gap, to Father, September 16, 1862.

⁷⁰Crenshaw Hall, near Cumberland Gap, to Father, September 1, 1862.

⁷¹John P. McCowan to S. Cooper, September 22, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XVI, Pt. I, 1010.

⁷²John Hall, near Cumberland Gap, to Laura, September 5, 1862.

Legion was left behind to garrison the Gap.⁷³ Some Federals who were made prisoners Crenshaw described as "renegades not worth capturing" and "the worst whipped men you ever saw."⁷⁴

The days spent at Cumberland Gap during the latter part of 1862 were not exciting for the Hall boys. Over and over they expressed their dislike of General Stevenson, whom Bolling blamed for their being stuck at the Gap.⁷⁵ Bolling prayed "deliver me from ever getting under Stevenson again." They wanted "to be active or serve at home."

On October 26 Second Lieutenant John Hall was elected first lieutenant, Company E, Second Battalion, Hilliard's Legion.⁷⁶ That same month Colonel A. H. Bradford had succeeded Colonel Hilliard in command of the Legion, which was placed in Major-General McCowan's Second Division of Kirby Smith's army.⁷⁷ Bolling thought this move would prompt their transfer to scenes of more excitement. But the Legion remained at Cumberland Gap—called by John "the last of creation"—⁷⁸ during the closing months of 1862.

On August 28 Bragg had left Chattanooga and had begun his march into middle Tennessee to cut off Buell and drive him out of the state. His army was formed into two wings, the right under Polk and the left under Hardee. James Hall, and perhaps Tom, were in Polk's right wing.⁷⁹ James had made another attempt to get transferred to Hilliard's Legion, but without success.⁸⁰ Learning on the march of Smith's victory at Richmond, Kentucky, and the subsequent occupation of Cumberland Gap, Bragg decided to proceed directly into Kentucky. The invasion of Kentucky was to consume James Hall's time to such an extent that there were no letters from him until December. In the absence also of letters from Tom, or any mention of Tom in the letters of Bolling, John, and Crenshaw,

⁷³Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XVI, 1010.

⁷⁴Crenshaw Hall, Cumberland Gap, to Laura, September 24, 1862.

⁷⁵Bolling Hall, Cumberland Gap, to Sister, September 29, 1862.

⁷⁶Confederate Military Records of John Hall.

⁷⁷Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XVI, Pt. II, 984.

⁷⁸John Hall, Camp near Cumberland Gap, to Laura, September 14, 1862.

⁷⁹Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XVI, Pt. II, 764.

⁸⁰James Hall, Chattanooga, Tenn., to Father, August 15, 1862.

it is impossible even to determine whether Tom took part in the invasion, but it is improbable.

James' activities can be traced indirectly by following Blythe's Forty-Fourth Mississippi. On September 13 the Forty-Fourth with another regiment was ordered to Horse Cave on the Munfordville Road to seize a flour mill. They took over the mill "containing a considerable quantity (sic) of wheat."⁸¹ The regiment participated in an attack on a small garrison of 4,000 Federals at Munfordville, Kentucky, September 14. The attack was sharply repulsed.⁸²

In the Battle of Perryville, which took place on October 8, James was not involved. He had been ordered with his division to Frankfort to support Kirby Smith. Following the Confederate victory at Perryville, Bragg missed an opportunity to win a smashing victory and moved north to Harrodsburg to unite with Kirby Smith. On October 10 the junction was made. Again the stage was set for a decisive battle, but again Bragg moved away to Bryantville and on October 13 began an active withdrawal from the state of Kentucky. On October 23 the army arrived at Knoxville, whence Polk conducted it to Chattanooga, and then Murfreesboro by rail.⁸³ The campaign had involved marching one thousand miles and one bloody battle, but the army of Tennessee had gained nothing.⁸⁴

During the month of November, James was transferred to another regiment, the Twenty-Fourth Alabama. The Twenty-Fourth had begun its career in Mobile in August, 1861, and become a part of Bragg's army in June, 1862. It was involved in the Kentucky campaign but was not called upon to fight.⁸⁵ On November 14 it was transferred from the brigade commanded by Brigadier-General John K. Jackson to the brigade commanded by Brigadier-General J. K. Duncan, Withers' Division.⁸⁶ Finally, James' company, Company I, Forty-Fourth

⁸¹Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XVI, Pt. I, 971-973.

⁸²Ibid., 972.

⁸³Horn, *The Army of Tennessee*, 189.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Joseph Wheeler, "Alabama," VII (*Confederate Military History*, Clement Evans, ed.), 131; *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 875-876.

⁸⁶Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XX, Pt. II, 403.

Mississippi Infantry Regiment, was transferred to the Twenty-Fourth Alabama Infantry Regiment, becoming Company K therein.⁸⁷ James remained in this outfit until the close of the war.

On December 10 Jefferson Davis visited Murfreesboro to size up Bragg's army for himself. During his survey, he reviewed "Withers' whole division." James described in a very colorful way what happened:

The Brigades were drawn up in line of battle, one behind the other. The President, General Bragg, General Polk, Cheatham, Withers and other Generals with their escorts were drawn up in beautiful array on the brow of a hill in front of us.

When all was ready the President with Withers by his side (because Withers' Division was being received) followed by a host of generals, rode slowly down the front of each Brigade. Each Battalion presented arms as he rode by them. I knew Marse Jeff as soon as I saw him. He was dressed in a plain broad cloth suit, and as the men said, "You cannot tell him from any other old citizen." The President then took his original position on the brow of the hill. We then marched by him in column company, the officers saluting him as they passed. We also took our Brigade positions. The whole division then saluted by presenting arms and giving three hearty cheers. This was the Grande Finale of the review.⁸⁸

Jefferson Davis, having received his salutes and his cheers, reined in his horse and from the brow of the hill rode down into the valley, and the Army of Tennessee was to go with him.⁸⁹

The year 1862 came to a violent close for James Hall. James' regiment, the Twenty-Fourth Alabama, was very much a part of the Battle of Murfreesboro, or Stone's River, December 31, 1862-January 2, 1863. The day after Christmas

⁸⁷Compiled Military Service Record of James Hall.

⁸⁸James Hall, Murfreesboro, Tenn., to Father, December 14, 1862.

⁸⁹General Joe Johnston had given this name to Bragg's army stationed at Murfreesboro.

Major-General W. S. Rosecrans began moving his forces from Nashville toward Bragg at Murfreesboro. By December 28 there was considerable skirmishing between the two armies. James wrote that about 2:00 p.m. on December 29 he "was ordered to take the company on picket. We fought the afternoon of the 29th and all day the 30th with the enemy skirmishers."⁹⁰ By December 31 Rosecrans had his whole army before Murfreesboro just west of Stone's River.

The Twenty-Fourth Alabama was in Withers' Division, Polk's Wing. Polk had placed Withers' Division in the front line because they "had not been engaged in any heavy battle since Shiloh."⁹¹ James, then, was in the center of the Confederate line and to the front. On the day of battle, the left side of the confederate forces, attacking at daybreak, was able to push the Federals back. James wrote that "at 7 o'clock December 31st our regiment was ordered to charge the enemy." They had to drive "through a cedar grove and an open field."⁹² Phil Sheridan's troops caught the charge and forced the Confederates to fall back with heavy loss. James continued to describe the action: "Three desparate (sic) charges were made on them before they were forced from their position. The position once carried, they were driven before us for miles."⁹³ James estimated that the Twenty-Fourth lost "50-60 men" in that charge.

As Polk reported, by noon "the enemy . . . was driven from the field at all points occupied by him in the morning, along his whole line, from his right to the extreme left, and was pressed back until our line occupied a position at right angles to that which was held at the opening of the battle."⁹⁴ After the Union troops passed the Nashville and Murfreesboro turnpike, fresh reinforcements were able to thwart the drive of the worn Confederate troops.

On the next day all was quiet. On January 2 the Confederates made an attack in considerable strength east of

⁹⁰James Hall's report of the Battle of Murfreesboro in *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, January 16, 1863.

⁹¹*Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XX, Pt. I, 686.

⁹²James Hall's report of the Battle of Murfreesboro in *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, January 16, 1863.

⁹³*Ibid.*

⁹⁴*Officials Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XX, Pt. I, 687.

Stone's River, attempting to secure a position that would enable them to use their artillery to greater advantage, but it failed. The Federals held their position on January 3, and on January 4 Bragg withdrew from Murfreesboro toward Shelbyville.

The retreat after what seemed a great victory on the first day had a profound effect on the men. They were discouraged. James wrote a few months hence, "Why is it that all seem so hopeful? Then I stare facts in the face and I have to admit that our situation is gloomy."⁶⁵

The Twenty-Fourth Alabama had lost at Murfreesboro twenty killed, ninety-five wounded, and six missing, making an aggregate of 118.⁶⁶ A Roll of Honor for the Battle of Murfreesboro published October 3, 1863, gratefully recognized the valor of Lieutenant J. A. Hall, Co. K, Twenty-Fourth Alabama Regiment of Infantry.⁶⁷ After Murfreesboro, James went home.

⁶⁵James Hall, Shelbyville, Tenn., to Sister, March 31, 1863.

⁶⁶*Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XX, Pt. II, 678.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 973.

CHAPTER III

1863

At the beginning of 1863, Bolling, Crenshaw, and John were still on duty at Cumberland Gap, described by Crenshaw as "a place of small importance¹ The letters they wrote from the Gap are filled with insignificant information and elaborate descriptions having little bearing on the war. The bulk of the surviving letters during the early part of 1863 were to their sister Mary Louisa, who was very ill. In one such letter Crenshaw reported in detail upon an investigation of a cave located in the vicinity of the Gap and supposed to have been the hide-out of a "noted robber and murderer."² Also associated with the cave was the story that a company of young people had once gone there to explore but had turned back when the candles went out. A violinist belonging to the party had remained in the cave, playing his violin. When the young people returned with a fresh supply of candles, they could hear the musician playing but could never find him, for they were always misled by the echoes. According to the natives, on occasions one could still hear the mournful music of the lost violin player."

This legendary music could not have been more mournful than the complaints of Bolling, Crenshaw, and John about being at Cumberland Gap. At one time they had no mail service for two weeks.⁴ Crenshaw longed to "leave here, never to see this place again and to push into Kentucky and into active warfare against the Yankees. It will come to that at last and I am ready for the fray."⁵ Meanwhile he would have "a good deal of work to do as is always the case at the end of the month. Returns, reviews, musters, inspections have to be tended to."⁶ Bolling wished he could be with Jim, who had been quite active in the war and "was doing well." Bolling also expressed the belief that they would not stay at the Gap long, but that other troops which had been exposed in the winter campaigns would take their place and they would be

¹Crenshaw Hall, Cumberland Gap, Tenn., to Sister, February 25, 1863.

²*Ibid.*

³*Ibid.*

⁴Bolling Hall, Jr., Cumberland Gap, Tenn., to Sister, March 19, 1863.

⁵Crenshaw Hall, Cumberland Gap, Tenn., to Sister, February 12, 1863.

ordered to active duty. This judgment, Bolling admitted, was based on his own idea as to "what ought to be done." Early in the spring he confessed that he pretended to be cheerful in order to encourage his men with "hope I dare not experience myself."⁸ However, John, unlike Bolling, rejoiced with the first hints of spring and wrote a happy letter to his sister about farmers plowing in the fields, trees on "the verge of blooming out," and how "the dreariness of winter has to a great extent been expelled by the merry little birds."

In February the department of East Tennessee, under the command of General D. S. Donelson, was reorganized. Hiliard's Legion, which had been a part of the Fifth Brigade,⁹ was broken up and placed in different brigades of the same division. The First Battalion except Company A and the Fourth Battalion were transferred to Colonel John B. Palmer's Brigade and stationed at Big Creek Gap, Tennessee.¹⁰ Company A, First Battalion, was given to the command of Major T. W. Davies and posted at Bristol, Tennessee.¹¹ The Third Battalion was transferred to the command of Captain J. W. Stoke and stationed at Knoxville, Tennessee.¹² The Second Battalion under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Bolling Hall, Jr., was placed in Brigadier-General Archibald Gracie's Brigade and remained at Cumberland Gap.¹³

Although the boys at the Gap were not actively engaged with the enemy, they were occupied. Foraging parties, sometimes successful, were sent into the surrounding country. On one occasion Gracie organized an expedition of infantry and cavalry and went into Kentucky to forage. The purpose of this maneuver was to find beeves as "meat was so scarce." Late in March John took fifty men to the river about twenty miles from camp to guard ferryboats "so that the 43rd Ala. can cross the river" when they came back from a foraging

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹Bolling Hall, Jr., Cumberland Gap, Tenn., to Sister, March 19, 1863.

¹⁰Bolling Hall, Jr., Cumberland Gap, Tenn., to Father, April 24, 1863.

¹¹John Hall, Cumberland Gap, Tenn., to Sister, March 20, 1863.

¹²*Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XX, Pt. II, 414.

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴*Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIII, Pt. II, 645.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 644.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

expedition into Kentucky.¹⁵ "Bushwhackers," Bolling observed, were "very thick in all of this section of the country." One who tried to escape capture by disguising himself as a woman was caught and not allowed to take off his feminine apparel. He would probably be shot.¹⁶

Bolling was proud of his regiment. After one review he commented that "Crenshaw and myself both thought that we surpassed any Regt. on the field in drill."¹⁷ General Gracie was reported to have said after the same review that "he was highly pleased" with Bolling's regiment.

Early in 1863 Tom Hall entered the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa.¹⁸ He wrote his brothers of his decision. They responded with letters urging him to keep going to school not only because it was best for him, but also to avoid disappointing their father.

Late in March Gracie's Brigade moved from Cumberland Gap to a position near Knoxville, but by the end of April they were back at the Gap. While near Knoxville John bought a sword that cost fifty dollars.¹⁹ On April 25 the Legion was consolidated again, Colonel Jack Thornton replacing Colonel H. W. Hilliard, who had resigned.²⁰

Early in May Gracie's Brigade marched to Bean's Station and thence to Morristown, Tennessee, where they took a train to Knoxville.²¹ This maneuver was intended to put the troops in a position where they could be called upon quickly in event the enemy under General Ambrose Burnside attempted an invasion of East Tennessee.²² The move seemed to lift the morale of the men, for they thought they would soon be sent into areas where there was more military activity. John believed that "it would help us mightily to get our men into one good fight."²³

¹⁵Bolling Hall, Jr., Cumberland Gap, Tenn., to Father, March 27, 1863.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷Bolling Hall, Jr., Cumberland Gap, Tenn., to Sister, March 19, 1863.

¹⁸Tom Hall, Montgomery, Ala., to Brother, February 7, 1863.

¹⁹John Hall, Cumberland Gap, to Father, April 20, 1863.

²⁰*Confederate Military History*, VII, 234.

²¹Bolling Hall, Jr., Knoxville, Tenn., May 7, 1863.

²²Bolling Hall, Jr., Knoxville, Tenn., to Father, May 7, 1863.

On May 9 Mary Louisa Hall died. Her condition had grown steadily worse until she was too weak even to read the letters her brothers wrote. Informed of her death by a brief note from their father, each of the four brothers wrote a letter of comfort to the bereaved family at home. These letters reveal the strong family ties of the Bolling Halls. A week before Mary Louisa's death, John had written her an optimistic letter affirming that the Confederate cause would ultimately succeed. "Our prospects are better than ever." Then, turning from the war, he reported to his dying sister that as he marched along a country road "the woods were getting green again."²³ In all probability Mary Louisa never received this hopeful letter.

During the early part of May, Bolling, Crenshaw, and John remained at a camp near Knoxville. Their health continued to be good. Bolling admitted that he had nothing to complain of except that the war appeared to be moving through its "deepest and darkest stage."²⁵ In fact, he had little hope that the family would be united anytime soon. Bolling's Battalion added some new recruits which made his aggregate "Five Hundred & Fifty."²⁶ In and around Knoxville were many Union sympathizers whose activity against the Confederates did not endear them in any way. Bolling called them "robbers and murderers of the most cruel and relentless kind." Crenshaw expressed the wish to see the "Tennessee Hills crimsoned with Traitor's and her own renegade's blood."²⁷

By the end of May, Gracie's Brigade had returned to Cumberland Gap, having been sent back in consequence of Federal demonstrations against the place. They had marched from Knoxville to the Gap in four days.²⁸ The battalion had

. . . present between 390 and 400 officers and men of whom about 360 are effective—the rest are sick and wagoning. Our battalion is alone on the Kentucky side of the

²³John Hall, Bean's Station, Tenn., to Sister, May 3, 1863.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵Bolling Hall, Jr., Knoxville, Tenn., to Laura, May 7, 1863.

²⁶Bolling Hall, Jr., Knoxville, Tenn., to Father, May 10, 1863.

²⁷Crenshaw Hall, Cumberland Gap, Tenn., to Father, April 16, 1863.

²⁸Bolling Hall, Jr., Cumberland Gap, Tenn., to Laura, May 24, 1863.

Gap—the enemy are reported at Barbourville about 30 miles from here in force of four or five regiments . . .²⁹

The Confederate force at the Gap was composed of the Sixty-Third Tennessee, Sixty-Second North Carolina, Forty-Third Alabama, and Hilliard's Legion.³⁰ At this time the Legion was united again.³¹ It was Bolling's impression that "we will not be long here."

While at the Gap the army was faced with the problem of an inadequate food supply. Crenshaw complained, "I hope the enemy will not conquer us by starvation."³² Bolling and Crenshaw were also becoming quite concerned about desertions, which were so numerous that they were beginning to sap the strength of the army.³³ Bolling wrote, "A good many desertions have been going on lately from the Legion. Twenty-four of mine started but I caught eight of them and now have them in ball and chain awaiting trial."³⁴ One of those caught was an old man who had inspired the others to leave in "broad daylight." According to Bolling the true patriots hated the old man because he had once said "damn the Confederacy." Bolling believed he would be shot. Crenshaw approved of putting deserters in ball and chains; indeed, he thought they ought to be court-martialed and executed. According to Crenshaw, "Bragg was overwhelmed by the voice of demagogues and traitors for attempting to enforce discipline in his army by shooting one or two deserters. You see the results in the Legion. The men say the officers are afraid to shoot them . . . If we had a few more Braggs perhaps desertion would not occur so often."³⁵

²⁹Crenshaw Hall, Cumberland Gap, Tenn., to Father, May 25, 1863.

³⁰Crenshaw Hall, Cumberland Gap, Tenn., to Father, May 27, 1863.

³¹Bolling Hall, Jr., Cumberland Gap, Tenn., to Laura, May 24, 1863.

³²Crenshaw Hall, Cumberland Gap, Tenn., to Father, May 25, 1863.

³³Bessie Martin, *Desertion of Alabama Troops from the Confederate Army: A Study in Sectionalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), points out the connection between desertion and the poor, sparsely-settled counties of the mountainous northern part of Ala. and the swampy section of the southeast as opposed to the rich, prosperous Black Belt where there were few deserters. Men from the poor sections of Alabama worried about the economic conditions of the family back home, whereas the men from the Black Belt were seldom confronted with this. Crenshaw regarded desertion as arising simply from lack of courage.

³⁴Bolling Hall, Jr., Cumberland Gap, Tenn., to Laura, June 3, 1863.

³⁵Crenshaw Hall, Cumberland Gap, Tenn., to Father, June 4, 1863.

In June Major-General Simon B. Buckner, who had been in command of the Department of East Tennessee since May, inspected the troops from Clinton to Cumberland Gap.³⁶ They were, he reported, in bad condition "with the exception of Gracie's Brigade at Cumberland Gap; and the defenses of the Gap were imperfect." He ordered Cumberland Gap strengthened at once.

Late in June a part of Gracie's Brigade including the Second and Fourth Battalions of the Legion was ordered to Knoxville. They arrived there on June 26 still not sure of their destination, although Crenshaw believed they were to join Bragg at Tullahoma, where Crenshaw expected a great battle.³⁷ Actually they joined Bragg just as he was falling back from middle Tennessee, having been outflanked by his Union opponent, Rosecrans. Crenshaw summed up their experiences:

We reached here from Tullahoma two or three days since, tired a little with our marches & hardships for we were subjected to some on the retreat which the body of Bragg's Army did not experience. We brought up the rear and on the whole march and campaign after leaving Knoxville till we returned the other night without cooking utensils of any kind.³⁸

While near Tullahoma Crenshaw saw Jim "looking well and in good spirits." From Chattanooga they took freight cars to Bridgeport, and then to Knoxville, arriving back there on July 7.³⁹

While at Knoxville during July the boys heard of developments on the Vicksburg front. When the reports of Vicksburg's fall became final, Crenshaw wrote, "The tide of war has rolled now until we are placed in a dangerous position."⁴⁰ But he did not lose hope, predicting that "we are nearer peace than a great many suppose. I believe in 12 months or less we will have our independence and peace." Bolling took comfort

³⁶**Official Records**, Ser. I, Vol. XXIII, Pt. II, 878.

³⁷Crenshaw Hall, Cumberland Gap, Tenn., to Father, June 27, 1863.

³⁸Crenshaw Hall, Knoxville, Tenn., to Father, July 10, 1863.

³⁹**Ibid.**

⁴⁰Crenshaw Hall, Knoxville, Tenn., to Father, July 22, 1863.

in the theory that Union victories would make them "careless" while it would serve to spur the Confederates to "redoubled energy."⁴¹ Evidently letters from home were discouraging, and the boys were doing what they could to bolster spirits there.

Following the Confederate defeat at Vicksburg, Burnside began upon the insistence of the Federal high command a movement into East Tennessee. As a result Gracie's Brigade was ordered to a "speedy concentration" at Strawberry Plains, Tennessee.⁴² Their camp was located on "the Knoxville & Va. R.R. about sixteen miles from the former place."⁴³ Bolling described it as a pleasant place with plenty of fresh water. As Burnside approached Knoxville, Buckner, who had only 6,000 men, requested help from Bragg, but Bragg, who had problems of his own, could not reinforce Buckner, and instead ordered him to evacuate Knoxville and move to the Hiwassee River about thirty miles from Chattanooga.⁴⁴ Gracie's Brigade was involved in this move, leaving Strawberry Plains on August 21 and by a hot, dusty march arriving in Knoxville the next day. John reported to his father a "general impression here is that we are going to evacuate East Tennessee, for a while at least."⁴⁵ By August 27 they were camped twelve miles from Chattanooga.

James Hall began 1863 with a furlough home. He returned to the Army of Tennessee early in February. It was then stationed at Tullahoma and Shelbyville, Tennessee, with General Pork in command of the left wing and General Hardee of the right wing. James was in Company K, Twenty-Fourth Alabama Regiment, Manigault's Brigade, Withers' Division, Polk's Corps, in the vicinity of Shelbyville.⁴⁶

James found little going on when he returned, and the situation remained that way during the early part of 1863.⁴⁷

⁴¹Bolling Hall, Jr., Knoxville, to Laura, July 19, 1863.

⁴²**Official Records**, Ser. I, Vol. XXIII, Pt. II, 949.

⁴³Bolling Hall, Jr., Strawberry Plains, Tenn., to Father, August 10, 1863.

⁴⁴Horn, **Army of Tennessee**, 244.

⁴⁵John Hall, near Chattanooga, Tenn., to Father, August 27, 1863.

⁴⁶**Official Records**, Ser. I, Vol. XXIII, Pt. II, 735.

⁴⁷Horn, **Army of Tennessee**, 231, states: "No other Confederate army, in any theater of operations or at any stage of the war, enjoyed such a protracted period of inaction as the Army of Tennessee spent in its camps along the Duck River line during the first half of 1863."

He reported that there was some dissension in the ranks over lack of activity, but not serious. He found the health of his company good, but the weather severe.⁴⁸ His quarters were a tent.

He found the time to tease his brother, Bolling, saying that he had not written because he had been too busy fighting a war while Bolling was in comfortable quarters at Cumberland Gap. "Are you tired of Cumberland Gap? Do you long for active service? If you do here's your mule. You can hire me as a substitute. I would like to sit down in a cabin between two of those Cumberland Hills for a while and let you try active service."⁴⁹

In the spring he wrote to his sister about the "green grass springing up so gaily. Everything is cheerful. All hearts rejoice. Nature chimes in."⁵⁰ But in the same letter he asked, "Why is it that all seem so hopeful?" If one stared "facts in the face . . . our situation is gloomy."

James was kept busy with an "immense deal of picketing." He described Rosecrans as "bristling in front" and keeping the army alert as to his every move. "Rosecrans it is thought is changing his base. Where to not known—probably to join or act in conjunction with Grant's army. I have a sort of presentiment that ere the summer closes I will again behold the beautiful 'Blue Grass' regions of Kentucky and that we will be more successful in keeping our foothold there."⁵¹ Aside from a few minor skirmishes, James had it relatively easy.

Bad news from Vicksburg sector contributed heavily to low morale in the army. The fall of Vicksburg would, James realized, "be a severe blow. God grant that we may whip them there."⁵² Information had a way of becoming distorted before it got to the Army of Tennessee. James heard officially that the "enemy had been repulsed ten times at Vicksburg," and

⁴⁸James Hall, Shelbyville, Tenn., to Father, February 10, 1863.

⁴⁹James Hall, Shelbyville, Tenn., to Bolling Hall, Jr., February 12, 1863.

⁵⁰James Hall, Shelbyville, Tenn., to Sister, March 31, 1863.

⁵¹*Ibid.*

⁵²James Hall, Shelbyville, Tenn., to Father, May 29, 1863.

also a rumor that Johnston had attacked them in the rear, "captured 9,000 prisoners, and routed the rest." James prayed, "O for a Stonewall Jackson to put after them." He also heard that "Lee had captured ten thousand more Yankees in Va. . . . I think the war is drawing to a close . . . A few more hard struggles and the day will be ours."⁵³

Early in May he wrote hopefully that "Captain Sawyer has returned and has been ordered before the examining board to be examined for promotion . . . As soon as he vacates his present position I will step into his place."⁵⁴ In July James was made captain of Company K, Twenty-Fourth Alabama Regiment, succeeding Benjamin Sawyer of the same regiment. Much pleased at his appointment, James said that he was now in command of a fine group of boys who could "whip out the whole of Lt. Col. Hall's Battalion and not half try."⁵⁵ James appeared to take a new lease on life. "I wonder if you all at home do really think that the Yanks can whip us. Why I tell you it is the most foolish idea I ever heard of. Just wait. Why I haven't the slightest idea of being whipped on the contrary I think the poor deluded Yanks are fast rushing to their ruin . . . Don't you think so, I do."⁵⁶

When Bolling Hall, Sr., informed his sons that Tom would enlist in the army, and inquired about the possibilities of his receiving a commission, James did not give his father much encouragement, although he admitted that Tom was more capable than some of the officers he knew.⁵⁷

In the latter part of June General Rosecrans, the Federal commander at Murfreesboro, began to stir, and through a series of brilliant maneuvers to force Bragg back. James left "Shelbyville on the 27th . . . marched 22 miles that day and night to Tullahoma. Went out the next day in line of battle. I firmly believed that we could have whipped 100,000 of the enemy easily. But Rosy didn't choose to fight."⁵⁸ By June

⁵³James Hall, Shelbyville, Tenn., to Sister, May 10, 1863.

⁵⁴James Hall, Shelbyville, Tenn., to Sister, May 4, 1863.

⁵⁵James Hall, Chattanooga, Tenn., to Sister, July 21, 1863.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*

⁵⁷James Hall, Chattanooga, Tenn., to Father, July 8, 1863.

⁵⁸James Hall, near Chattanooga, Tenn., to Father, July 8, 1863.

29 Bragg's whole army was at Tullahoma. James saw Bolling, Crenshaw, and John there for a brief moment before they were caught up in Bragg's retreat to Chattanooga, ending on July 3. Bragg's report of his withdrawal reached Richmond on the same day that Vicksburg fell and that Lee withdrew his troops from Gettysburg.

On August 1 Tom Hall, who had enlisted as an independent volunteer in his brother's company,⁵⁹ was met at the station in Chattanooga by James. Tom began adapting immediately to army life. His letters were full of optimism about his future and enthusiastic about the cause of the Confederacy. A few days after his arrival he left for Knoxville to see Bolling, Crenshaw, and John, reaching there just as the Second Battalion of Hilliard's Legion pulled out for Strawberry Plains.⁶⁰ He got to see Bolling and Crenshaw for a brief visit, but missed John. He then came back to Chattanooga, rejoining James on August 8.

Toward the latter part of August the Federal offensive began to take shape against Chattanooga. The city was shelled, and there was skirmishing around about, though no serious engagements took place. Citizens left in such numbers that the city became rather deserted.⁶¹ On August 21 Bragg appealed to Johnson for aid. Tom knew of this appeal and wrote his father, "I suppose you know better than I do the number of reinforcements Johnston is sending to us."⁶² Actually it was two divisions amounting to 9,000 men.⁶³

At the juncture Buckner evacuated Knoxville and moved to a position just north of Chattanooga. As a result all five sons of Bolling Hall were in the same vicinity and able to get in touch with one another.⁶⁴ This situation was, of course, too good to last. Chickamauga would end it.

Early in September Federal pressure on Chattanooga began to mount. James Hall had no doubt that "a general en-

⁵⁹Tom Hall, Chattanooga, Tenn., to Laura, August 2, 1863; *Confederate Military History*, VII, 133.

⁶⁰James Hall, Chattanooga, Tenn., to Father, August 8, 1863.

⁶¹James Hall, Chattanooga, Tenn., n.n., August 26, 1863.

⁶²Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 244.

⁶³Tom Hall, Tiner Station, Tenn., to Father, August 31, 1863.

gagement is imminent,"⁶⁵ but Bragg was not prepared to meet the Federals there, and ordered the evacuation of the city on September 6.⁶⁶ "We have cooked three days rations," Tom wrote, "struck our tents, packed our wagons, ready to move right off. We expect to leave before dark. We do not know of course where we are going. Some think southward and (some) think we are going to cross the river on pontoons at Chattanooga to cutt off Burnside."⁶⁷ On the evening of September 7 Bragg's army retreated toward LaFayette, Georgia. James and Tom were in Polk's Corps; Bolling, Crenshaw, and John, in Buckner's Corps.⁶⁸

Tom was very much dissatisfied with T. C. Hindman, who had replaced General J. M. Withers as commander of a division in Polk's Corps.

All I have to fear now is our new general. Hindman has proven himself to be a regular low life rowdy by what he done (sic) the other night. Our division was on the march until about two o'clock in the night. When we halted Gen. Hindman found Polk's staff camped on the spot where he had picked and he went up and roused them calling them a set of "unprincipled curs." . . . To say the least he was challenged to a duel which he did not accept.⁶⁹

Bragg's leadership had, according to Tom, "completely out generaled all of us now."

The Hall boys found little time to write letters during Bragg's retreat toward LaFayette. James did comment on conflicting reports and opinions which made it impossible for soldiers in the field to know much of what was actually happening. Bolling informed his father that his sons were in close proximity to one another during the retreat.⁷⁰ On one occasion notes from each of them went into a single letter. The retreat

⁶¹ Bolling Hall, LaFayette, Ga., to Father, September 15, 1863.

⁶⁵ James Hall, Chattanooga, Tenn., to Father, September 2, 1863.

⁶⁶ *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XXX, Pt. II, 612.

⁶⁷ Tom Hall, Chattanooga, Tenn., to Father, September 6, 1863.

⁶⁸ James Hall, Chattanooga, Tenn., to Father, September 2, 1863. Also *Confederate Military History*, VII, 235.

⁶⁹ Tom Hall, near Tiner Station, Tenn., to Father, August 31, 1863.

⁷⁰ Bolling Hall, Jr., LaFayette, Ga., to Father, September 15, 1863.

involved much hard marching engulfed in dust. But James reported, as did the other boys, that the whole army was confident, "in high spirits and good fighting trim."⁷¹

Rosecrans, the Federal Commander, thinking the retreat from Chattanooga showed a thoroughly demoralized and beaten enemy, sent his army in a divided pursuit. Bragg's plan was to concentrate his forces on the other side of the mountainous country south of Chattanooga to wait for the Federal forces to emerge. James understood that the Federal forces "were divided and trying to unite & Bragg is attempting to keep them apart and fight them in detail but up to this time has failed in getting a fight."⁷² Bragg's over-all plan was good, but he lacked the decisiveness and daring to execute it. On September 9, after a Federal corps under Major-General George H. Thomas had moved into a vulnerable position at McLemore's Cove,⁷³ Bragg ordered Hindman's Division to hit Thomas,⁷⁴ but owing to a maze of misunderstandings the attack was not launched, and Thomas eased out of danger. Crenshaw summed up the whole matter in a sentence: "We believed we had a division of Yankees under Thomas surrounded in the cove (McLemore's Cove) but they escaped."⁷⁵

On September 18 at nightfall Gracie's Brigade crossed the Chickamauga River at Dalton's Ford. On September 19 they were in a line of battle facing the enemy's works near Lee and Gordon's Mill. Though under shellfire, they managed during the night to strengthen their fortifications.⁷⁶ That morning James and Tom had left their encampment at LaFayette and marched to a point about a mile and a half east of the Chickamauga River. On the march their brigade had been forced to lie down to escape further damage from enemy fire. They remained east of the Chickamauga until the afternoon of September 19, when orders came to cross to a position about two miles west of it. They reached their destination at sunset, formed a battle line, and moved through a dense undergrowth, driving the enemy before them. They returned to the original

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 250.

⁷⁴Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXX, Pt. IV, 632.

⁷⁵Crenshaw Hall, LaFayette, Ga., to Father, September 15, 1863.

⁷⁶Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXX, Pt. II, 413.

line of battle about nine o'clock, taking a position between the left of Hood's Division and the right of Buckner's Corps.⁷⁷

The battle of Chickamauga commenced in earnest on September 20. Bragg's over-all plan was to turn Rosecrans's left flank, "cutting him off from the road to Rossville. Then continuing the movement so as to uncover the gaps in Missionary Ridge through which the Federals might retreat, he hoped to roll the Federal army back into eerie McLemore's Cove and there destroy it at leisure."⁷⁸ The left wing of the Federal army was under the command of General Thomas. At ten o'clock A.M. General James Longstreet hurled his forces at the Federal right.⁷⁹ James and Tom, in Hindman's Division, were a part of this movement. The enemy on their front was posted near "the crest of a hill, a gradual ascent leading to it, and behind the breastworks of logs and timber their infantry lay, opening upon the command a heavy fire at short range from their positions of fancied security."⁸⁰ About eleven-thirty A.M. the Twenty-Fourth Alabama advanced rapidly to within eighty yards of the breastworks, where they were stopped short but did not fall back. In a second assault they stormed the breastworks and drove the enemy from it. The brigade was then reformed and moved forward. By this time, the complexion of the gigantic battle had changed considerably. The extreme left wing of Bragg's army had broken through the Federal right and had thrown much of it into retreat toward Chattanooga. All now seemed to depend upon Thomas, who took a position at Horseshoe Ridge and beat off repeated Confederate attacks.⁸¹

In the attempt to dislodge Thomas, Manigault's Brigade, to which Bolling, Crenshaw, and John belonged, was not spared. Hindman, the division commander, wrote:

Our troops attacked again and again with a courage worthy of past achievements. The enemy fought with de-

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 340-341.

⁷⁸Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, V, 255.

⁷⁹Longstreet had arrived with reinforcements the evening before and assumed command of the left wing of the army, which was east of the Chickamauga River.

⁸⁰Brig.-Gen. A. M. Manigault's report of Chickamauga, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XXX, Pt. II, 341.

⁸¹Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, V, 262.

terminated obstinacy and repeatedly repulsed us, but only to be again assailed. As showing the fierceness of the fight, the fact is mentioned that on our extreme left the bayonet was used, and men also killed and wounded with clubbed muskets. A little after 4 the enemy was reinforced and advanced with loud shouts upon our right, but was repulsed.

At 4:20 Brigadier General Preston, Buckner's Corps, in answer to my application for help, brought me the timely and valuable reinforcements of Kelley's Brigade, and within an hour afterward, the remaining brigades of his division—Gracie and Trigg's.⁸²

With the arrival of Gracie's Brigade, which had been in reserve, Bolling, Crenshaw, and John were to share in the ferocious fighting at Horseshoe Ridge. The brigade charged across a field swept by the "fury of musketry, grape and canister." First to reach the top of the ridge was the Second Alabama Battalion.⁸³ The battalion entered the entrenchments and after a bloody combat finally took possession of Snodgrass Hill. The rest of Preston's Division then charged on. The success at Snodgrass Hill in which Bolling, Crenshaw, and John participated was a major factor in breaking Thomas's defense and sending him into a retreat toward Chattanooga.⁸⁴

In the fighting Tom Hall had received a wound which required the amputation of one of his legs. On September 24 Bolling telegraphed his father: "Tom is very low. Come at once if you wish to see him and bring a good surgeon."⁸⁵ Bolling, Sr., came to Chickamauga, but the evidence does not show whether he arrived before Tom's death, which occurred by September 26. Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Sawyer wrote a few lines of commendation in memory of the young soldier, who had "left his books and hurried forth to meet the invading band and who fell in the terrible charge."⁸⁶ Colonel N. N.

⁸²T. C. Hindman's Report of Chickamauga, **Official Records**, Ser. I, Vol. XXX, Pt. II, 305.

⁸³**Official Records**, Ser. I, Vol. XXX, Pt. II, 415.

⁸⁴Horn, **Army of Tennessee**, 269.

⁸⁵Bolling Hall, Jr., Ringold, Ga., to Father, September 24, 1863.

⁸⁶Lines written in memory of Thomas B. Hall by Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Sawyer, n.d.

Davis, Twenty-Fourth Alabama Infantry, in his report mentioned that T. B. Hall, "a youth of seventeen years of age, joined his brother's company (Company K) as an independent volunteer, and fell mortally wounded while gallantly fighting the enemy some distance in advance of the regiment."⁸⁷

James Hall was also mentioned in Colonel Davis' report as being "Conspicuous for gallantry during the day . . ."⁸⁸ General Manigault also praised James for distinguished conduct on the field. The Twenty-Fourth Alabama Infantry Regiment, which went into action with an aggregate of 381, lost 22 killed, 91 wounded, and 3 missing, making a total of 116.⁸⁹

In the charge on Snodgrass Hill, Bolling was wounded in the thigh. He was, according to Crenshaw, shot down "leading the command under the fiercest fire" when they had "almost reached the enemy's works."⁹⁰ His division commander, General Preston, reported that after other troops had been driven back Gracie's Brigade

was ordered to attack. The 2nd Battalion of the Alabama Legion, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hall, rushed up the slope in the face of furious fire. The color was borne by Wm. H. Hiatt, who will deliver it into your hands. The brave commander was wounded, and the battalion lost nearly a third of the officers and men. The hill was carried, for a while held, and ultimately gained. The little standard pierced in eighty-three places attests the severity of the fire and the splendid courage and constancy of the men who fought beneath its folds.⁹¹

Bragg took the flag and placed it at the disposition of President Davis.

⁸⁷Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXX, Pt. II, 347.

⁸⁸Ibid., 344.

⁸⁹Ibid., 347.

⁹⁰Crenshaw Hall's report of Chickamauga, Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXX, Pt. II, 425.

⁹¹W. Preston, Preston's Division, Buckner's Corps, to General Braxton Bragg for the purpose of placing the Battalion flag at the disposition of President Davis, October 11, 1863. A copy of this letter is found in the Compiled Military Service Record of Bolling Hall, Jr.

On September 27 Bolling requested to be transferred to a hospital in Montgomery. The request was granted and he returned to Montgomery, going later to his father's plantation. James and John were in good health. Crenshaw was sick of diarrhea, but managed to conduct the affairs of the battalion in the absence of Bolling.

Late in September James asked his father, who had returned from the battle field, to circulate among his friends not only in Autauga but also in Talladega and Shelby Counties the following statement composed by Lieutenant-Colonel Sawyer:

It would be unjust to my feelings were I to refrain from giving you and through you your gallant comrades an assurance of my high appreciation for your services on the bloody field of Chickamauga, and to express my admiration for the brave and gallant manner in which you conducted yourselves throughout that terrible fight . . . You fought as none but Company K could fight. The fields of Belmont, Shiloh, Munsfordville, Murfreesboro, bear witness to your bravery, but it remains for Chickamauga to develop the brightness of your glory.⁹²

Bragg had won a great victory, but did not follow through to make it complete. Rosecrans managed to get back to Chattanooga. Chickamauga was a high accomplishment for the Army of Tennessee, a time for rejoicing when the "invading band" had been stopped, and thrown back; but for the sons of Bolling Hall it was also a time of suffering, and of mourning.

It was difficult for James and others to understand why Bragg had not pressed his victory. Although Rosecrans had been defeated, his army had not been destroyed. "The plans of our generals," wrote James, "remain a mystery."⁹³

By October the entire Federal force was inside Chattanooga and Bragg began a siege of the city. James, as a member of Manigault's Brigade, was at Missionary Ridge,⁹⁴ while Cren-

⁹²Lt.-Col. Ben Sawyer, Twenty-Fourth Alabama Infantry Regiment, to Capt. James A. Hall, Company K, n.d.

⁹³James Hall, Chattanooga, Tenn., to Father, October 5, 1863.

⁹⁴Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXI, Pt. III, 617.

shaw and John were on the right about four miles south of Chattanooga. Crenshaw wrote his father that he and John, members of Gracie's Brigade, were "in very comfortable quarters especially compared with others. We have our tent stretched 60 yds. up on the side of Missionary Ridge."⁹⁵

During October plans were underway to reorganize Hilliard's Legion as Bolling had hoped. Bolling had expressed as early as June, 1863, a desire to have the Legion consolidated into regiments.⁹⁶ In November six companies of the Second Battalion, Hilliard's Legion, Alabama Volunteers, were combined with the Fourth Battalion of the same Legion to form the Fifty-Ninth Alabama Infantry Regiment, which remained in Gracie's Brigade.⁹⁷ Bolling, who was promoted to Colonel, would command the regiment as soon as his Chickamauga wound permitted him to return to duty.

As winter began to come to the soldiers around Chattanooga, Crenshaw wrote home for "socks and drawers" and "my overcoat which Bolling carried home."⁹⁸ He also described his position as being "right of the army, Polk's Corps . . . very near where Jim was when you were here."⁹⁹

The Confederate high command decided to send Longstreet into East Tennessee against Burnside. This maneuver was designed to relieve pressure on Bragg and ultimately to crush Burnside. In reality, it did neither, and it weakened Bragg's force. Longstreet set out with about 12,000 men,¹⁰⁰ a force hardly equal to the army he was to destroy. Crenshaw and John remained at Missionary Ridge, as did James. On November 23, however, reinforcements were ordered to Longstreet, and among them was Gracie's Brigade.¹⁰¹ Crenshaw and John left Missionary Ridge and headed back to the country they dreaded, East Tennessee.

⁹⁵Crenshaw Hall, Chattanooga, Tenn., to Father, October 29, 1863.

⁹⁶Bolling Hall, Jr., Cumberland Gap, Tenn., to Father, June 5, 1863.

⁹⁷Compiled Military Service Record of Bolling Hall, Jr., **Confederate Military History**, VII, 225.

⁹⁸Crenshaw Hall, Missionary Ridge, Tenn., to Father, November 10, 1863.

⁹⁹Crenshaw Hall, near Chattanooga, Tenn., to Father, October 29, 1863.

¹⁰⁰**Official Records**, Ser. I, Vol. XXXI, Pt. II, 637.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, 532.

Burnside retreated to Knoxville and beat off one attack against Fort Loudon. Crenshaw and John were not in that attack, but were held in reserve. On December 15 Longstreet attempted to capture a Federal force of three brigades of cavalry and one of infantry stationed at Bean's Station, Tennessee, but the Federals were able to escape. Two months later, Crenshaw described the action as he recalled it:

On the 14th of December, the Brigade left Rogersville and marched eight miles—arriving face to face with the Yankees about 3 miles east of Bean's Station about 3 o'clock in the evening . . .

Gracie's Brigade was ordered to advance . . . and immediately moved on the enemy who we struck very soon and drove easily for awhile; as we advanced the valley widening and the enemy growing stronger in number the 2nd pushed forward to the line of skirmish and the fight commenced.

We were fighting in the valley and it was only occasionally the Yankees found a halting place—but the few elevations and old houses which they occasionally occupied retarded our advance sometimes a few minutes . . .

We would occasionally force them to retreat at the double quick . . . Our whole Reg. would open a volley on the blue backs as they run (sic) and then we would raise the yell and forward double quick.

You should have witnessed the joy and delight of our men—but soon the Yankees would reach a good position and form their lines of defenses—then the Rebel's countenances fall—how quick then spirits change as we see that the work aint over but is still ahead.¹⁰²

Crenshaw went on to praise the bravery of the men and especially the courage of John, who had "acquitted himself with credit." The regiment was engaged from three o'clock in the afternoon until dark. The cavalry was able to capture a

¹⁰²Crenshaw Hall, Dandridge, Tenn., to Father, February 7, 1864.

wagonload of commissary and quartermaster stores. A single remark of Crenshaw's unintentionally summed up the significance of the engagement—"we got a little coffee and nothing more."

While Crenshaw and John were in East Tennessee with Longstreet, and Bolling was at home recuperating from his wounds, James remained with Manigault's Brigade outside Chattanooga. Late in November he was to become involved in one of the most dramatic fights of the entire War, the battle of Missionary Ridge. The corps to which James belonged, now commanded by Lieutenant-General W. J. Hardee, was posted on the crest of Missionary Ridge on the Confederate right. From this position James could see a great distance and reported that "the enemy now hold all of the valley beyond Look-Out Point."¹⁰³ On November 23 Grant, who had earlier assumed command of the Federal forces, unveiled his plans. Sherman, having moved secretly upriver, crossed over and by one o'clock P.M. was in position to assail the Confederate right. Thomas was in the center, approaching the base of Missionary Ridge. When James heard of Thomas' advance, he thought the "courier was joking."¹⁰⁴ On November 24 Thomas waited for action. In the meantime, Hooker took 10,000 men down the river, crossed over and in a heavy mist fought and won the battle of Lookout Mountain. On the same day Bragg's whole force was concentrated on Missionary Ridge, a position which he felt was impregnable.

The next day Sherman attacked the Confederate right but failed to break through. Hooker, in an attempt to make his way toward the Confederate left and rear, lost his way and did not arrive until the fighting was nearly over.¹⁰⁵ At about 3:30 o'clock P.M. Grant directed Thomas to take the skirmish line at the foot of Missionary Ridge, then halt and await orders. This move was designed to relieve some of the pressure on Sherman, who was having all kinds of difficulties with the Confederate right. Thomas' men advanced, swept away the skirmishers and then, without orders, charged Mis-

¹⁰³James Hall, Missionary Ridge, Tenn., to Father, November 8, 1863.

¹⁰⁴James Hall, Dalton, Ga., to Father, December 2, 1863.

¹⁰⁵Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 298.

sionary Ridge to the surprise of Grant and Thomas, who surveyed the battle from afar, to the Confederates on the Ridge, and probably to themselves. James was there and later described what he saw:

The enemy advanced in three columns against us. Our batteries opened up with considerable effect. Though their lines were broken and their ranks broken they never hesitated but came straight forward. They came in no order but ascended as a great heaving mass daring all and heedless to danger—the one fixed purpose of reaching the top of Missionary Ridge. It was a sublime spectacle and I could not withhold my admiration. On they came and swept before them our men under the ridge. The enemy paused. We were confident we could hold the ridge against any cost.

We looked up over our breastworks. I saw on the summit of the knoll 2 Yankees kneeling and loading, and behind them I ordered a few of my men . . . thinking they had only broken our lines on this knoll and we would easily whip them . . . but I looked and saw the left of Deas' Brigade giving away. I raised up on my tiptoes at the risk of having a bullet put through me and looked to the left. You cannot conceive my consternation when I saw Yankee colors floating all along the breastworks and Yankees by the thousands crowding over and pushing forward to cut us off . . . It required more courage to run than to stand still . . . Soon after dark we fell back to Chickamauga.¹⁰⁶

From Chickamauga the beaten Army of Tennessee retreated to Dalton, Georgia, going there into winter quarters.

On December 28 James wrote to his sister, Laura, in a very unwarlike vein that he would endeavor to buy music for her as she requested, and especially wanted her to have "Annie of the Vale" and "When This Cruel War Is Over."¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶James Hall, Dalton, Ga., to Father, December 2, 1863.

¹⁰⁷James Hall, Dalton, Ga., to Laura, December 28, 1863.

The year 1863 had been an arduous one for the sons of Bolling Hall, a year marked by the intense monotony of East Tennessee; by the inactivity of Bragg's army on the Duck River; by the death of young Tom Hall and the suffering of a wounded Bolling as the price of Chickamauga; and by the crushing humiliation of Missionary Ridge.

CHAPTER IV

1864

At the beginning of 1864, James Hall was stationed at Dalton, Georgia. Following the Confederate disaster at Missionary Ridge, Dalton was the place where the Army of Tennessee halted to camp for the winter. Braxton Bragg had relinquished his command in December, 1863, to become "the military adviser to the President, where he acted as a sort of chief of staff or ex officio commander in chief." On December 18, 1863, Joe Johnston was ordered to turn over the Department of Mississippi to Leonidas Polk and assume command of the Army of Tennessee.

Many questioned the wisdom of Bragg's being placed in a position where he might wield considerable influence over the President and his decisions. Among his soldiers he did, however, have some admirers. James was one of them, and he claimed that his was the "sentiment of nearly the whole of the rank and file." When Bragg first

. . . took command of this army he was hated. It was the duty of the officers no matter what they thought of Bragg to instill into the men confidence in him. It was not long before my company were all Bragg men and when he left us they considered it a dark hour for Bragg's army. They loved and respected him while they feared him. Was it not my duty to teach them this? But he is taken from us, he whom we would not have given for a Lee or Johnston or a Beauregard.²

According to James, Johnston did not receive a rousing welcome from the troops. In fact, his welcome was so subdued as to be embarrassing. When he reviewed the troops, he did not receive a "single cheer in any Brigade except Vaughn's Tennessee Brigade and that very faint one."³ James

¹Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 306.

²James Hall, near Dalton, Ga., to Father, January 31, 1864.

³*Ibid.*

saw that one of his own tasks was to teach the men to have the same confidence in Johnston that they had in Bragg. Although James' enthusiasm for Johnston was not exuberant, and though he, personally, was a Bragg man, other evidence would indicate that Johnston's replacement of Bragg was popular with the soldiers in the Army of Tennessee.⁴

The state of an army's morale cannot be measured by the letters of just one soldier, but it certainly can be hinted at. Early in January, young James' mind dwelt upon home.

In stirring campaigns such as that of "Kentucky or the retreat from Tullahoma, the Chicamauga campaign—or when daily under fire of the enemy's guns at Missionary Ridge," there is much to drive from the mind thoughts of past happiness and dreams of future pleasure at home... Is it not natural that he who loves his home so as to brave this should think more of home than one merely absent(?) How often does his heart grow faint when he fears that he may sacrifice himself and yet not save his home.⁵

In another letter James mentioned that he had wanted to be home for Christmas and the New Year, and his hope that someday he would once again "enjoy the peace, the happiness, the home which he has secured." Such letters are not surprising considering the brutal whipping he and his copatriots had suffered at Missionary Ridge.

That the army's supply of food was unsatisfactory appeared from remarks by James in February. "We had nothing but corn bread and hominy for dinner today. Please send by express to Atlanta one barrell (sic) of potatoes with a side of meat also in the barrell to me at Atlanta." In a lighter vein and on another occasion, James wrote, "I found all quiet in camp still seeming to thrive under the blessings of good health and bad beef."⁶ Johnston was able to make progress, and slowly but surely the Army of Tennessee regained its strength.

⁴Joe Cross, *Camp and Field: Papers from the Portfolio of an Army Chaplain*, 1864, 390.

⁵James Hall, near Dalton, Ga., to Father, January 8, 1864.

⁶James Hall, Dalton, Ga., to Joe Hall, January 4, 1864.

⁷James Hall, Dalton, Ga., to Father, February 15, 1864.

Winter brings its own peculiar hardships to an army in the field. There were not enough blankets, clothes, and shoes. "What a pity it is," James wrote, "that our armies cannot be better fed and clad . . . There is a great deal written and said about the sufferings of the soldier." Winter in northern Georgia can be severe. On one occasion the thermometer plunged to three degrees below zero, and as late as March there was heavy snow.¹⁰

Johnston worked the army. "We have daily brigade drills and our Brigade is fast improving."¹¹ In one letter James described a sham battle in Hardee's corps, but the letter was too blurred to make out the details. As conditions improved, so did the morale. By April it was James' opinion that the army was in "good fighting trim," and that "it would be best for the campaign to open right away as we may possibly get out of trim."¹² It is interesting to note how James' attitude toward Johnston had changed from one of dissatisfaction to the confident belief that here was the man who could "break Grant's neck."¹³ The return of John B. Hood to the Army of Tennessee encouraged James.¹⁴ With these promising signs of renewed vigor and strength, James wrote optimistically, "I cannot doubt but that we will have a glorious campaign in the spring."¹⁵ And later he stated, "I can't get rid of the idea that the Army of Tenn. will this year decide the fate of the Confederacy."¹⁶

During the early part of February "rumors of war" plagued the Army of Tennessee. Johnston had been informed by Polk in Mississippi that William T. Sherman was moving eastward from Vicksburg with an army of 35,000 men, presumably headed for Meridian, Mississippi, and then to Mobile, Alabama. It was President Davis' opinion that it would be

⁸James Hall, Dalton, Ga., to Father, March 29, 1864.

⁹James Hall, Dalton, Ga., to Father, April 18, 1864.

¹⁰Horn, **Army of Tennessee**, 315.

¹¹James Hall, Dalton, Ga., to Father, February 15, 1864.

¹²James Hall, near Dalton, Ga., to Laura Hall, April 5, 1864.

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴James Hall, Dalton, Ga., to Father, February 15, 1864.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶*Ibid.*

well if Johnston would reinforce Polk. Johnston's opinion was that such a move was unwise, and a short debate by way of the telegraph ensued. Davis' opinion became an order, and three divisions under the command of William Hardee were sent. This move depleted Johnston's force to just three divisions. James wrote:

It will be no news to you when I tell you that three divisions have left here for Sherman's benefit. There are only three divisions here now . . . Rumor after rumor comes to us concerning the situation of affairs between Polk and Sherman. There is rumor today that Polk has fallen back across the Tombigbee (Tombigbee River) and that Sherman is crossing the river. I don't see how this can be as Sherman certainly couldn't haul pontoons on such a march and how could he cross without(?) I have usually been able to keep cool in all crises heretofore and leave the management of affairs to our authorities and trust to them. But Sherman is getting to (sic) close home. I find myself asking what are our authorities doing(?)¹⁷

James saw the possibility of Sherman's moving toward Mobile, taking the city, and then pressing on toward Montgomery. He had also heard that the people in Montgomery were frightened. He gave this word of encouragement: "Montgomery has enough citizens capable of bearing arms to make a good fight . . . Before this reaches you I expect to hear of Sherman's defeat."¹⁸ This mild Union offensive was not defeated, but died down. Sherman burned Meridian and returned to Vicksburg. George Thomas, who was supposed to have marched into Georgia from Chattanooga to gain possession of Dalton when the Confederates depleted their forces to help Polk, was defeated at Mill Creek Gap.¹⁹ James did not mention this fight in any of his letters.

In the spring days of 1864, there was little excitement in camp. The letters of the young soldier in April were mainly

¹⁷James Hall, Dalton, Ga., to Father, February 21, 1864.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 315-316.

about home, "a thing of the past, probably never to be seen again."²⁰ There was still the hope that the grand campaign in the spring would tip the scales in favor of the Confederacy and bring victory and peace. He could write:

Providence seems to smile on us. For notwithstanding the little reverse we have sustained west of the Mississippi (capture of fort DeRussy) our cause is in ascendant. Lee's Army, Longstreet's, Johnston's, Beauregard's and the army in Florida have now the finest morale and this makes them doubly formidable (sic).²¹

Reports and rumors of what was to happen filled the air. "We have also a report that active operations have commenced in Virginia. We expect stirring news from Va. soon . . . It is thought by some that Gen'l Johnston will advance and recapture Missionary Ridge. This will make East Tenn. Less tenable to the Yankees."²²

In addition to false reports and rumors to contend with, men had to deal with one another and often the relationships were far from satisfactory. James told his father that the Colonel had lost his horse and suspected it was the work of the cavalry. "Col. Sawyer says that every cavalry man ought to have a board tied on his back and the word 'thief' written on it so that honest men could know him when they came about and hide their horses." James advised his brother, Hines, to stay out of the army.²³

On April 29 he described the preliminaries of what would become a mighty Union offensive. According to him the enemy had exhibited great activity, advancing in force on the Ringold road. Confederate pickets were driven in and there was some skirmishing. As he neared the close of his letter, James wrote "I can hear the sound of cannon grow fainter and fainter."²⁴

As the sound of cannon and musketry diminished in the

²⁰James Hall, Dalton, Ga., to Father, April 8, 1864.

²¹James Hall, Dalton, Ga., to Laura Hall, April 5, 1864.

²²James Hall, Dalton, Ga., to Hines Hall, April 14, 1864.

²³James Hall, Dalton, Ga., to Father, April 18, 1864.

²⁴James Hall, Dalton, Ga., to Father, April 29, 1864.

distance, and the April day passed into quiet and darkness, little did young Captain John Hall discern that the cause he served was also beginning to grow fainter and fainter, passing from day into night.

In December, 1863, Bolling returned to service after convalescing at home from the wound he had received at Chickamauga. He joined Crenshaw and John with Longstreet in east Tennessee near Morristown.²⁵ From the letters of these three soldiers it is clear that 1864 began on a note of despair. John was unhappy because he had asked for a leave of absence which was not granted. He admitted that he was in good health, weighed more than ever before, but was "low spirited."²⁶

Crenshaw lamented:

Since leaving Chickamauga our marches and retreats and charges have been on so extensive a scale that I can't recount all of course. And where am I to begin if I have to break into the history I think it would be the biggest volume of trials and sufferings and disappointments that could be made from the history of any books . . . Victory nowhere and defeat everywhere for us.²⁷

Bolling was still suffering from his wound and was running a fever.

In January the weather was severe. Crenshaw complained that "for two weeks I do not suppose the thermometer has stood above 32° at any hour of the day or night."²⁸

Every attempt was being made to outfit the men, but the progress was slow. Bolling found "180 men with no shoes at all otherwise perfectly well and fit for duty besides 100 with at least one half the foot completely exposed to the weather and the small piece of leather which they pretend to call shoe will drop off in a few days."²⁹ Crenshaw described the army as "badly clothed and barefooted," and with "little prospect of

²⁵John Hall, Morristown, Tenn., to Father, January 10, 1864.

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷Crenshaw Hall, Morristown, Tenn., to Father, January 11, 1864.

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹Bolling Hall, Jr., Morristown, Tenn., to Laura, January 12, 1864.

relief at hand."³⁰ As far as he could tell the Brigade quartermaster "has only shoed a general or so from heels to belly and two or three men in each company." Bolling wrote that shoes were being made at the rate of "five or six per day to the Regt."³¹

In the beginning of the East Tennessee campaign, provisions seemed to be adequate both for men and horse, but as time went by the situation grew worse. On February 1 Bolling informed his sister that "We are all well but about to starve."³² Late in March John believed that "Our Army cannot be subsisted much longer in this country. The Army is now getting $\frac{3}{4}$ pound of flour— $\frac{1}{2}$ pound of meat—Horses get ten ears of corn a day."³³ And in April he described the beef as being "so poor that you could almost see through the sides;"³⁴ and the flour inferior, proving upon examination to be nothing more than "rice, oats and bearded wheat all ground up together."³⁵ He also wrote, "You never saw poor fellows eat like we do when we get hold of a piece of bacon."³⁶ Despite the miserable weather, poor food, and inadequate clothing, the morale of the Hall boys did not seem to flag. "Our little army here can whip three yankees to one. They are few but brave and willing."³⁷

Cold weather and lack of supplies did not paralyze Longstreet's force in east Tennessee, though most of the activity was insignificant. Bolling related on February 1 that there was a sharp skirmish "just opposite Dandridge where we are camped at present."³⁸ There were no casualties in the regiment.

A few days after this, the Fifty-Ninth was posted some "seventeen miles in advance of the balance of the army."³⁹ Because of this Bolling thought Longstreet did not consider the Fifty-Ninth as part of the army and that he preferred Bolling's men's

³⁰Crenshaw Hall, Morristown, Tenn., to Father, January 11, 1864.

³¹Bolling Hall, Jr., Morristown, Tenn., to Laura, January 11, 1864.

³²Bolling Hall, Jr., Dandridge, Tenn., to Laura, February 1, 1864.

³³John Hall, Lick Creek, Tenn., to Laura, March 20, 1864.

³⁴John Hall, near Zollicoffer, Tenn., to Carrie, April 6, 1864.

³⁵John Hall, near Zollicoffer, Tenn., to Father, April 6, 1864.

³⁶John Hall, near Zollicoffer, Tenn., to Carrie, April 6, 1864.

³⁷John Hall, Morristown, Tenn., to Father, January 19, 1864.

³⁸Bolling Hall, Jr., Dandridge, Tenn., to Laura, February 1, 1864.

³⁹Bolling Hall, Jr., Dandridge, Tenn., to Father, February 7, 1864.

being placed in front of the army where they could be picked off rather than Longstreet's men. At sunrise, February 13, Longstreet began a march that approached Knoxville. Most of the men thought it was a move against Knoxville, but in reality it was a full-scale foraging party and nothing more. Crenshaw felt confident that Knoxville could be taken easily, but thought it without value since Burnside had destroyed the country and "Knoxville itself (is) reported infected with small pox."⁴⁰ The letters during February, 1864, give the impression that the army was on the march not to find the enemy, engage him in battle, and destroy him, but rather to keep warm. By the end of February, the Hall boys were at Bulls Gap, a small village about fifty miles northeast of Knoxville. They remained in that vicinity until early April, when they moved on to Zollicoffer, Tennessee.

Besides these minor movements near Knoxville, other activity was taking place. Early in February John went home on furlough.⁴¹ Bolling became a member of a court martial.⁴² Early in March occurred the re-enlistment of "The Glorious Old 59th Alabama Regiment." John, who had returned to the army, pictured the event for his sister:

First there was a dress parade. Then Bolling simply asked the men to re-enlist and to step forward all that would enlist for the war. The "Glorious Old 59th" stepped forward every man except one or two over 50 years old. O what a glorious sight—Every man in one company enlisted—

How well I feel—It almost makes one crazy.⁴³

Bolling wrote:

I made no speech but simply explained some few things which they requested me to & then told them at the command "march" I wished all who desired re-enlist "for the war" to step forward. I gave the command & the whole regiment came forward in one solid unbroken line . . . Every other regiment was eclipsed so completely that for

⁴⁰Crenshaw Hall, Brabons Ferry, to Father, February 14, 1864.

⁴¹Longstreet was very liberal with furloughs. It seemed to have a good effect on the men.

⁴²Bolling Hall, Jr., Dandridge, Tenn., to Laura, February 4, 1864.

⁴³John Hall, Lick Creek Bridge, Tenn., to Laura, March 9, 1864.

a time they were dumbfounded . . . What do you say for Autauga and the 59th Alabama Regt. after that? . . . No tangible enemy can ever whip us."

Bolling's feeling of exaltation over the response of his regiment was tempered as he thought of what waited them with the approach of summer. "It makes me sad," he confessed, "to think of this Regt. as it is now in such fine spirits & as it will be at the end of the summer's campaign with its weary ranks decimated by the battles we must go through."¹⁵

In periods of inactivity followed day by day with uncertainty, tempers were tested between individuals, and even between different parts of the military force. In February Bolling reported to his father that all was quiet and would probably continue to be so until "the enemy thresh out our cowardly cavalry again and we then will be forced to go out and recover lost ground for them." In his evaluation the cavalry was of little use and was "dwindling away to nothing."¹⁶ According to him, "All like Longstreet, except the cavalry which he will make fight sometimes in spite of themselves."¹⁷

In one of the papers which his father had sent him, Bolling read that Captain Y. M. Elmore had come home after a "hundred bloody battles." Bolling queried, "How in the world he escapes so well in an hundred battles none but a cavalry man can tell. Tell the Capt. I should not allow the *Advertiser*¹⁸ to publish me at home so often."¹⁹ After reading in the *Advertiser* an announcement calling for recruits for the cavalry, Bolling asked his father to insert the following in the same paper:

Come to the dull and plodding infantry where honor and glory awaits you—where you will become acquainted with minnie balls as thick as hail and learn to face all danger without fear but do not wait to be sent to the Cavalry where your free and roving disposition will first make its

¹⁵Bolling Hall, Jr., Camp 59th Ala. Regt., to Father, March 10, 1864.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷Bolling Hall, Jr., Dandridge, Tenn., to Father, February 7, 1864.

¹⁸Bolling Hall, Jr., Morristown, Tenn., to Father, January 12, 1864.

¹⁹The Montgomery *Advertiser*.

²⁰Bolling Hall, Jr., Zollicoffer, Tenn., to Father, April 10, 1864.

nature apparent in advancing in a direction contrary to that of the enemy when the rattle of muskets resounds and the whistle of balls become unmusical.⁵⁰

In early March Longstreet was called to Richmond to confer with President Davis, Lee, Bragg, and the War Department. This event had everyone guessing about the future. John thought that "when he gets back he will fall back to Jonesboro or Bristol."⁵¹ Later on he was sure that they would "move somewhere in two or three days. Some think Longstreet will move into Kentucky (I hope it may be soon) others think he will move south."⁵² According to Bolling, "Some think that as all our cavalry nearly has been sent to join Joe Johnston via North Carolina that we are soon to follow. Others judging from the fact that we have here Breckenridge, (sic) Buckner, Fields, and John H. Morgan all Kentuckians that we are to invade that state."⁵³ John heard that "10,000 troops are on their way to reinforce Longstreet."⁵⁴ By April Buckner was in command of a division consisting of Gracie's, Law's, and Bushrod Johnson's Brigades. At this time the sons of Bolling Hall were in the Fifty-Ninth Alabama Regiment, Gracie's Brigade, Buckner's Division, Longstreet's Corps. Bolling was colonel, Crenshaw, regimental adjutant, and John, first lieutenant, company B.⁵⁵

On April 7 Longstreet was ordered to Charlottesville, Virginia.⁵⁶ In this position he could move to the aid of Lee on the Rapidan or to the defense of the Richmond-Petersburg area. Buckner was placed in command of East Tennessee.⁵⁷ Concerning this move, Crenshaw wrote:

Of course you have heard of Genl. Longstreet's transfer to the Army of Genl. Lee—I regret that he has not taken us with him . . . Law's Ala. Brigade very recently assigned

⁵⁰Bolling Hall, Jr., Zollicoffer, Tenn., to Father, April 10, 1864.

⁵¹John Hall, Lick Creek, Tenn., to Laura, March 20, 1864.

⁵²John Hall, Lick Creek, Tenn., to Carrie, March 24, 1864.

⁵³Bolling Hall, Jr., Hdqrs. 59th Ala. Regt., to Laura, March 25, 1864.

⁵⁴John Hall, Zollicoffer, Tenn., to Father, April 6, 1864.

⁵⁵Compiled Military Service Records of Bolling, Crenshaw, and John Hall.

⁵⁶*Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XXXII, Pt. III, 756.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

to Buckner's Division has by special order of the President again been assigned . . . and leaves for Virginia Friday. Genl. Gracie today is trying to effect an exchange with Genl. Law. Law has been for a long time in arrest & was restored to his command only yesterday . . . In view of this hostile feeling between him and Genl. Longstreet an exchange may be accomplished for our Brigade . . . The great Battle for Richmond must be an important one and it would be a source of pride and gratification hereafter to all who acquit themselves bravely there. Even though we do not exchange with Law's Brigade I believe that when the Battle is fought we will be there.⁵⁸

Within the week, orders came that made Crenshaw a prophet. The sons of Bolling Hall were in the troops called to share in the defense of Richmond. They left Abingdon, Virginia, in boxcars on April 27, 1864,⁵⁹ bound for Richmond, "lighthearted at the prospect of being in the last battle of the war."⁶⁰

The fact that Bolling reported that his troops were under orders to embark for Lee's Army on April 26⁶¹ fills in a minor missing link. According to D. S. Freeman, Johnson and his Tennessee troops, of which the Bolling Hall boys were a part, had been ordered by Bragg to move from the Virginia-Tennessee border to Richmond late in April to share in the city's defense. In a footnote Freeman wrote, "The dates neither of Bragg's order nor of Johnson's departure from the vicinity of Zollicoffer, Tenn., appear in available records."⁶² In all probability the orders were received three or four days prior to the 26th. This would have given them time to make ready and march to Abingdon, Virginia, which is not far from Zollicoffer, Tennessee. They left Abingdon on the 27th.⁶³

They traveled by train in cars filled with fifty men to a

⁵⁸Crenshaw Hall, Zollicoffer, Tenn., to Father, April 20, 1864.

⁵⁹Bolling Hall, Jr., Abingdon, Va., to Father, April 26, 1864.

⁶⁰Bolling Hall, Jr., Lynchburg, Va., to Father, April 28, 1864.

⁶¹Bolling Hall, Jr., Abingdon, Va., to Father, April 26, 1864.

⁶²Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, III, 460n. See *Official Records*, Vol. III, Pt. II, 664.

⁶³Bolling Hall, Jr., Lynchburg, Va., to Laura, April 28, 1864.

car.⁶⁴ On April 29 they arrived and camped near Richmond.

That night Crenshaw and some others went to the theater in Richmond, where for \$2.50 they saw "a very nice actress that acted and danced for us," a satire on Russian court life, and government officials in the social circle.⁶⁵ Next morning they marched through Richmond en route to the camp. Crenshaw overheard citizens saying that "the regiment bore the marks of service." They camped on the Mechanicsville Road, "4 miles from Richmond and near the celebrated Chickahominy swamp." During the trip from Tennessee Bolling had become sick, and was later hospitalized in Richmond.⁶⁶ In camp rations picked up and some of the men were given meal, some bacon, shoes, hats, loaves of bread, sugar, coffee, and "peas everyday."⁶⁷

John was very pleased to be away from East Tennessee, which he never wanted to see again. In Virginia "the good ladies share their meals with the soldiers and wear shoes and do not chew tobacco." He made further comparisons:

There is such a difference in the Citizens of East Tenn—go to a house and ask for a piece of meat and bread and the answer you would get would be with a long union bushwhacking face, "I haven't got a bite to save my life. I have got three children here and I just know we'll all die this winter. We're bound to starve." Go to a house here and how will you be received? Everything will be given you that can be got—the lady of the house will tell you if she had only two meals—you shall have one.⁶⁸

The Brigade was assigned to the Department of Richmond under the command of Major General Robert Ransom.

On May 4 Bolling wrote that he had no idea "what is intended to be done wit hus. We are here probably to guard against a flank movement through the peninsula."⁶⁹ About

⁶⁴Crenshaw Hall, near Richmond, to (?), April 20, 1864.

⁶⁵Crenshaw Hall, near Richmond, to (?), April 30, 1864.

⁶⁶Compiled Military Service Record of Bolling Hall, Jr.

⁶⁷John Hall, east of Richmond, to Father, May 1, 1864.

⁶⁸John Hall, near Richmond, to Laura, May 3, 1864.

⁶⁹Bolling Hall, Jr., east of Richmond, Va., to Father, May 4, 1864; between May 4 and May 22 no letters are available. In order to reconstruct their military activity, I have relied on **Official Records**, and Freeman's **Lee's Lieutenants**, III, 450-495.

midnight Grant moved his forces across the Rapidan River and engaged Lee in the wilderness. South of Richmond Ben Butler, a political general, advanced up the James River on May 5 and took a position with Richmond on the right and Petersburg on the left. Butler's aim was to threaten Richmond, and to wreck railroads and communications below the city. Later he was to link forces with Grant and Meade and destroy Lee.

In the face of this maneuver, Bushrod Johnson and the troops from Tennessee were ordered to Drewry's Bluff on the James River above Butler. This was on the night of May 5-6. At 11 A. M. on May 6 Ransom ordered Johnson⁷⁰ to port Walthall Junction.⁷¹ Gracie's Brigade remained at Drewry's Bluff,⁷² while the struggle for the railroads raged south of Richmond and north of Petersburg. If the Union forces could take the railroads leading into Richmond, the fall of that city would be impending.

Gracie's Brigade at Drewry's Bluff was reinforced.⁷³ Ransom, using Gracie's and Barton's Brigades, struck out on May 10 from Drewry's Bluff on a reconnaissance to locate the exact position of the enemy's van, which was reported on "Winfree's Farm opposite Chester."⁷⁴ John sketchily described the role of the Fifty-Ninth Alabama Infantry in this section:

We have been in three separate fights. The first at Drewry's Bluff about the 10th of this month was comparatively a small affair. Our Regt. lost not a single man but captured more than sixty prisoners and killed ten Yankees that we are certain of besides many others that might have been killed and wounded.⁷⁵

By the night of May 10-11 Major General Phil Sheridan,

⁷⁰Official Records, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. II, 664.

⁷¹Port Walthall Junction was an important junction on the railroad between Richmond and Petersburg. If the enemy had taken this point, it would have been a gain of far-reaching proportions. It would have effected Lee in his fight with Grant, brought nearer the collapse of Richmond, and placed Union forces in an advantageous position against Petersburg.

⁷²Official Records, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. II, 965-966.

⁷³Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, III, 468.

⁷⁴Official Records, XXXVI, Pt. II, 914.

⁷⁵John Hall, Chafin's Bluff, Va., to Laura, May 22, 1864.

coming down from the Wilderness, threatened Richmond with 10,000 Union cavalry. The city had been emptied of defenders in order to protect Drewry's Bluff and the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad. To deal with Sheridan, Ransom was recalled from Drewry's Bluff.⁷⁶ John reported the action that saved the city:

We went to Richmond and there met Sheridan and his raiders. We fought him for sometime in two or three miles of Richmond. The 43rd Ala. was thrown in front of the Brigade as skirmishers. They opened the fight but did not fight long before they fell back to the Brigade when Genl. Gracie ordered a new line of skirmishers out. I was sent with my company on this line. We advanced—met the enemy and drove him some distance when (I being on the right of the line) finding the enemy flanking us reported to the commander of the line when he gave orders to retreat. We then retired to the brigade.⁷⁷

By the 15th a stiff fight was shaping up for Drewry's Bluff. "We were ordered," John wrote, "to give every man sixty rounds of ammunition and see that their guns were in good order. All knapsacks were under charge of the Quarter Master and we were ready for the bloody fight we knew on the morrow would lay many a good fellow lifeless."⁷⁸

The plan of attack was simple. Butler was in a line from Bermuda Hundred to City Point with his base at Bermuda Hundred on the James River. The objective was to cut off Butler from his base at Bermuda Hundred. Ransom's Division, to which the Fifty-Ninth Alabama belonged, was to begin the attack on Butler's right.

At 4:45 A.M. on May 16 Ransom advanced his Division. "Fog delayed and confused, but Ransom's men pushed vigorously ahead and, in about an hour, carried the first line of Federal fortifications, which consisted of rifle pits and breastworks."⁷⁹ Several days later John described the attack:

⁷⁶Official Records, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. II, 995.

⁷⁷John Hall, Chafin's Bluff, Va., to Laura, May 22, 1864.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, III, 486.

We charged the enemy from their works. In this fearful charge we suffered our loss in killed and wounded. We were hotly engaged for nearly an hour during which time our gallant boys were falling right and left. The Regt. lost twenty killed and one hundred and forty-two wounded, some mortally, some severe and some slightly. My company lost 4 killed and fifteen wounded . . . A ball passed through my coat and lodged in my pocket—but did not hurt me . . . Every captain in the Regt. was hurt except myself . . . After the fight I rallied our few surviving comrades—formed the Regt. and if Genl. Gracie moved us forward again we expected to engage the enemy again right off.⁸⁰

In that blistering hour, Bolling was shot three times through the ankle and foot. Fifteen minutes later Crenshaw was struck “just above the collar bone—the ball passed downwards.”⁸¹ They were both taken to General Hospital No. 4, Richmond.⁸²

The battle continued all day and resulted in Butler’s being bottled up in Bermuda Hundred. Beauregard contented himself with “five captured colors, his five guns and his 1388 prisoners as compensation for 2506 casualties.”⁸³ John was impressed with the captured stores which included “sugar, coffee, meat, crackers, baked turkeys, and other things the Yanks had prepared for eating.”⁸⁴

Following the battle, the Fifty-Ninth Alabama encountered danger of a sort they had not known in East Tennessee.

Since the fight we have lay (sic) all the time under fire of the Yankee gunboats and batteries and they have shelled us day and night allowing us little time to sleep. Several men had both legs cut off by these shells from the Yankee gunboats . . . These shells weighing 200 lbs. are the worst things I ever saw.”⁸⁵

⁸⁰John Hall, Chafin’s Bluff, Va., to Laura, May 22, 1864.

⁸¹Bolling Hall, Sr. (Father), Richmond, Va., to Laura, May 26, 1864.

⁸²Compiled Military Service Records of Bolling and Crenshaw Hall.

⁸³**Official Records**, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. II, 204, 205, 206.

⁸⁴John Hall, Chafin’s Bluff, Va., to Laura, May 22, 1864.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*

On May 21 they received orders to move from their position in front of Bermuda Hundred back to Drewry's Bluff. John then reflected on the strange, and illogical, life of a soldier: "and now here we are on Sunday—a warm clear day—in fine winter quarters all fixed up in good houses in hot weather after having spent one of the coldest winters ever known without shelter."⁸⁶

Major Hall came to Richmond on May 25-26 to tend to the needs of his two wounded sons. At first he was encouraged about Bolling's condition, believing that his leg would heal, but on May 26 the leg had to be amputated just above the ankle joint.⁸⁷ By May 31 his father had him removed from the hospital to the Spotswood Hotel in Richmond. Crenshaw's condition was also serious, but he improved rapidly and by May 31 was transferred from the hospital to a private residence (Judge Campbell's)⁸⁸ Bolling was able to leave Richmond for home on July 9, and Crenshaw followed on the 13th.

As Grant edged down past Richmond, fighting Lee all the way, John felt the "big fight was drawing nearer and nearer."

Grant is swinging around to the Peninsula and of course Lee is keeping between him and Richmond. They will soon be down here with us. Lee is only ten miles from here now or rather from Richmond. We will be in the great fight, and the last fight of the war yet. God grant that we may be victorious and finally establish our independence. I wish to live at peace at home with you all once more.⁸⁹

On June 5, "We are still having stirring times at Drewry's Bluff, Chafin's Farm and Richmond. Lee's Army is now very near us—so near that as I write I can easily hear musketry . . . I think there has been hard fighting between Lee and Grant all day. They are fighting all the time nearly."⁹⁰

⁸⁶*Ibid.*

⁸⁷Bolling Hall (Father), Richmond, Va., to Laura, May 26, 1864.

⁸⁸John Hall, Chafin's Bluff, Va., to Laura, May 31, 1864. Judge Campbell was evidently the Assistant Secretary of War, John A. Campbell of Alabama, who had been an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court.

⁸⁹John Hall, Chafin's Bluff, Va., to Laura, May 29, 1864.

⁹⁰John Hall, Chafin's Bluff, Va., to Hines, June 5, 1864.

Grant, deciding to bypass Richmond and go for Petersburg, moved east from Cold Harbor, swung south, and crossed the James River. The first wave of Federals attacked Petersburg on June 15, but Beauregard managed to stave them off. Subsequently reinforcements were rushed to Petersburg, among them the Fifty-Ninth Alabama Regiment, Gracie's Brigade, including John's regiment.

About two o'clock on the 17th the 59th Alabama Regt. got orders to report to General Beauregard below Petersburg. Cars were ready for us and we were only 2½ or 3 miles from town—so by 3 o'clock we were in Petersburg and by 4 o'clock had reported to General Johnson and Beauregard.⁹¹

In the meantime, as Freeman tells it,

Beauregard had received no relief from the attacks that had begun disastrously at dawn of the 17th. Toward evening the assaults became more furious. About dusk a desperate attack by a Division of the IX Corps breached another section of the line and took Battery 14, which had been held by a part of Wise's command. The arrival of Archibald Gracie's Brigade prevented deep penetration.⁹²

For the Fifty-Ninth Alabama the fight proved extremely severe, and John described it in more detail than was usual with him.

The Regt. was ordered immediately to the front . . . the enemy discovered us before we got near the battle field and poured a most terrible fire of grape and shell into our ranks for some time doing however little damage of a serious character. We were ordered to occupy a part of the lines which had no fortifications upon it . . . The enemies' sharpshooters were very bad and in easy range. I put the detail at work—the sharpshooters shooting at us all the time both armies being in the same field, but had worked only a very few minutes when the Yanks charged our entire line. I put my detail with Johnson's Brigade on

⁹¹John Hall, Fort Clifton, Va., to Father, June 21, 1864.

⁹²Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, III, 535.

my right and made them fight. Wise's Brigade on my left gave away . . . The 59th was ordered in, by this time Elliot's Brigade had given way also on the left. They (Fifty-Ninth Alabama) came charging . . . moved to the left where our line was giving way fastest and then charged some distance over the breastworks after the Yankees. The 59th being alone was compelled to fall back to the works—there they stood until the Yankees were completely in our rear having taken our works on the left. I was on the right of the regt. with the working detail fighting with the Regt. for I joined it when it came into the fight. I reckon I was lucky in not being with my company although I will always regret it. As it was on the left of the regt. it suffered most in killed and wounded and prisoners . . . The Regt. lost 62 killed and 53 wounded just one month from the Battle of Drewry's Bluff making it a loss of 280 . . . A few more such fights will wipe us out . . . It was the tightest place I ever got into.⁹³

Beauregard managed to withdraw to a new position, and by noon of June 18 Lee had finally arrived and the bulk of his army was moving in. Federal assaults were thrown back with heavy loss. As Beauregard wrote in later years,

The evening of the 18th was quiet. There was no further attempt on the part of General Meade to assault our lines. He was "satisfied," as he said in his report, that there was "nothing more to be gained by direct attacks." The spade took the place of the musket, and the regular siege was begun. It was only raised April 2, 1865.⁹⁴

John Hall found being in the trenches "a miserable life . . . so confining. One dares not even stand up for the minute his head appears above the works just then fifty balls are sent at it."⁹⁵ John was kept occupied; "if we were to stay in the trenches a thousand years some work would be found to keep

⁹³John Hall, Fort Clifton, Va., to Father, June 21, 1864.

⁹⁴G. T. Beauregard, "Four Days of Battle at Petersburg," **Battles and Leaders of the Civil War**, edited by Clarence C. Buell and Robert A. Johnson (4 vols., New York: The Century Company, 1887-1888).

⁹⁵John Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Laura, July 14, 1864.

the men employed.”⁹⁶ The men remained in the trenches for two or three days, and then came out to be replaced by another regiment. When they returned to the trenches, John complained that everything was torn to pieces “so that we have to remodel entirely—Moving then, so often, is not pleasant to the soldier, to say the least of it.”⁹⁷ While out of the trenches, they were a part of the reserves which were to be used in any part of the line that might be threatened at any time.

In case of an assault upon our lines, the reserves would have to march through open fields exposed to the full fire of the enemies’ arms of all sorts until they reached the outer line of fortifications . . . We are without shelter, whereas in the trenches we had our bomb proofs which afford some protection from falling rain . . . Thus you see the beauty of being in reserve.⁹⁸

John confessed of being bored. “It is hard to write anything here, as we have the same things over one day after another and seldom leave the trenches to hear or see anything new.”⁹⁹ And then to add to their misery there was the awful bombardment—the endless rain of shot and shell. He estimated that one of the shells thrown by a mortar battery weighed “130 pounds.”¹⁰⁰ A man whom John saw get his brains knocked out did not even groan. At night “as many as 20 lighted mortar shells were in the air at one point crossing each other and making all kinds of noises” ;¹⁰¹ they “filled the air like ascending and descending stars passing each other on their hostile missions and descending to the line of an opponent.”¹⁰² The men, in order to protect themselves, built “bomb proofs” which did little good except shield them from the rain and inclement weather. To dodge the shells as they came over became something of a sport, if a very precarious pastime; according to John some of the men became very agile and adept at the art.

At times the enemy threw smaller shells which could not be

⁹⁶John Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Father, August 27, 1864.

⁹⁷John Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Father, September 7, 1864.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*

⁹⁹John Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Laura, September 7, 1864.

¹⁰⁰John Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Laura, September 2, 1864.

¹⁰¹Crenshaw Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Father, October 16, 1864.

¹⁰²John Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Father, November 10, 1864.

dodged. John concluded that as far as shelling was concerned, "we stand in hot water all the time."¹⁰⁸

The letters of Bolling Hall's sons usually displayed little humor, but there seems to be a larger number of quips in the letters from Pttersburg in 1864 than in any others. For example, John told about a soldier who was uninjured when struck by a rifle ball but "mortally scared to death."¹⁰⁴ John wished that "Grant would do his do and quit for the winter."¹⁰⁵ Thieves were so bad that they even "stole a corpse which was at the depot awaiting transportation."¹⁰⁶ The Forty-First Alabama charged some Yankee pickets and captured all of them. One of the men had been taking a nap, and when a Confederate kicked him he "jumped up crying, 'Oh Lordy, Oh Lordy.' He thought he had been hit by a mortar shell."¹⁰⁷ General Johnson and General Gracie brought some women into the trenches. To the men it was a novel sight to see the ladies walking up and down with their parasols hoisted. The most mischievous of the boys wished that the Yanks would throw a few shells over "to try the courage of the ladies. I don't know what they would do."¹⁰⁸

As the summer wore on, Grant slowly and methodically stretched his line, creeping toward the vital railroad lines that nourished Petersburg and Richmond. John hoped that Lee would "prevent Grant from extending his line father around the city."¹⁰⁹ By the end of August, Grant had taken the Petersburg-Weldon Railroad.¹¹⁰ On September 16 the Confederates made a cattle raid and came back with 2,468 beeves¹¹¹ which, Bolling said, "make a big show."¹¹²

Bolling and Crenshaw had returned to duty in September, and their attitudes had changed. They were not as optimistic as they had once been. Crenshaw spoke of "darkening clouds,"

¹⁰³ John Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Laura, September 12, 1864.

¹⁰⁴ John Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Laura, September 16, 1864.

¹⁰⁵ John Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Laura, October 5, 1864.

¹⁰⁶ Crenshaw Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Father, October 24, 1864.

¹⁰⁷ John Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Father, November 10, 1864.

¹⁰⁸ John Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Laura, October 5, 1864.

¹⁰⁹ John Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Father, August 27, 1864.

¹¹⁰ Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, III, 588-589.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² Bolling Hall, Jr., Petersburg, Va., to Laura, September 20, 1864.

and Bolling admitted that "our situation is dreadful."¹¹³ Bolling's health declined. He could not endure the strain of trench life and constant exposure to the elements and shells. Late in November he returned home "looking thin and badly." This marked the end of his career as a Confederate soldier.¹¹⁴

The Hall letters indicate that for the most part Gracie's Brigade defended the "immediate front to Petersburg," and being "in line from the Appomattox River . . . over a mile east of Petersburg."¹¹⁵ Toward the end of the year they were in Gracies's Brigade, Bushrod Johnson's Division, Anderson's Corps'. On December 3, Gracie was killed¹¹⁶ and the Brigade was turned over to Col. Y. M. Moody. Late in December John became sick and was sent to the hospital.¹¹⁷

John listened one clear and pleasant Sunday to the ringing of church bells and thought of the good days that once were. But his daydreams were rudely interrupted by the explosion of a shell that called him back to reality, the reality of mortars, the fading strength of the army, the death of friends, the rumors of defeats and setbacks on other fronts, and the miserable life in the trenches.¹¹⁸

When Grant made his move against Lee and crossed the Rapidan on May 4, 1864, Sherman mounted his offensive against Joe Johnston in Georgia. The letters of James Hall from this time to the end of the war were meager, not only in information but in numbers. The reasons for this are many. He was on the move constantly. And when he did have time to write, he was probably too exhausted. Mail delivery became very undependable. Paper and ink became scarce, and paper was poor.

Sherman's campaign against Johnston was not dramatic, but it was relentless. Johnston retreated in good order, destroyed bridges and railway track, "keeping his antagonist constantly on the offensive, avoiding open warfare, fighting

¹¹³Bolling Hall, Jr., Petersburg, Va., to Laura, October 14, 1864.

¹¹⁴Bolling Hall, Sr., Home, to James, November 30, 1864.

¹¹⁵Crenshaw Hall, Petersburg, Va., to (?), (?).

¹¹⁶Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants* III, 631.

¹¹⁷Bolling Hall, Sr., Home, to James, December 30, 1864.

¹¹⁸John Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Laura, September 20, 1864.

him at advantage behind prepared intrenchments, and not permitting him to attack with his superior numbers."¹¹⁹ During this retreat James did not lose confidence in his commander and clutched to the belief that if he could survive Sherman's advance he would live to tell his children about the war.¹²⁰ "All along the route," James recorded, "we were marching and fighting all the time."¹²¹

Both armies became convinced of the advantage of having breastworks and "during the remainder of the Dalton-Atlanta campaign followed the practice of throwing up entrenchments wherever they stopped long enough."¹²² James recognized the value of trenches and told his sister at the beginning of Sherman's advance: "If the enemy fight us in our trenches we will win I think the most complete victory of the war."¹²³

Sherman pressed on until Johnston was forced back to Atlanta. On July 14 it was rumored among the men that "Pres. Davis and Bragg and some say Cooper (General Samuel Cooper) are in town . . . The boys say if Bragg is in town we will have either a fight or a foot race soon."¹²⁴ The rumor proved to be in tpart true. Bragg was there, but President Davis was not. The purpose of Bragg's visit was to see first hand the situation in Georgia, measure Johnston's plan and strategy, and see what could be done. Johnston, though he was not aware of it, was being weighed in the balance and found wanting. He was relieved of command on July 17, and the Army of Tennessee was handed to John B. Hood. This meant just one thing; Atlanta would not be given up without a fight.

As to this move, James made no comment in the available letters. He did write that "With God's blessing on our efforts I believe the present campaign will end the war in our favor. I hardly think now that Atlanta will be given up."¹²⁵

¹¹⁹J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: D. C. Heath and Co., 1937), 553.

¹²⁰James Hall, near Dalton, Ga., to Laura, May 9, 1864.

¹²¹James Hall, near New Hope Church, to Sister, June 13, 1864.

¹²²Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 331.

¹²³James Hall, near Dalton, Ga., to Laura, May 9, 1864.

¹²⁴James Hall, near Atlanta, to Father, July 14, 1864.

¹²⁵*Ibid.*

Sherman then planned to go after the railroads leading into Atlanta, knowing that he could not take Atlanta by direct assault. The first target was the Georgia Railroad that entered the town from the northeast. To accomplish this Sherman divided his forces, sending one unit to approach Atlanta from the northeast and the other unit, under the command of Thomas, to cross Peachtree Creek from the north. The distance between the two units of the Union army enticed Hood. On July 20 the new Confederate commander sent his forces against Thomas.¹²⁶ Thomas held and Hood retired to the city's defenses. In the battle of Atlanta that followed two days later, Hood sent Hardee behind the Union army to attack them from the rear while he directed a frontal assault. It was a remarkable plan and well executed, but it failed. James reported very little about this but did mention that "On the 22nd we charged the enemy's works and carried them capturing 8 14' guns and several stacks of colors."¹²⁷

The battle of Ezra Church was fought on July 28, and the Union army succeeded in cutting the Macon and West Point Railroad.¹²⁸ This action resulted in the siege of Atlanta. Once again James was miserly in discussing a battle only to write, "We charged on the 28th and were repulsed."¹²⁹ If James' letters were to get home, they had to be sent by hand down the railroad.¹³⁰ During the violent fighting, Ben, James' slave, ran away. James surmised that he was hiding in the woods. James instructed his father, in case Ben returned home, to thrash him "and send him back to me."¹³¹

Both Union and Confederate cavalry maneuvered behind the lines. Wheeler, Confederate, rode behind Sherman and did a great deal of damage to his communications. James wrote, "Our latest news from Wheeler is that he has burned the bridge over the Etowah River and torn up several miles of the track and is still going north tearing up track as he goes."¹³² Wheeler went as far north as Knoxville, but the Union forces finally

¹²⁶Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 351-354.

¹²⁷James Hall, near Atlanta, Ga., to Father, July 31, 1864.

¹²⁸Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 354-359.

¹²⁹James Hall, near Atlanta, Ga., to Father, August 12, 1864.

¹³⁰James Hall, near Atlanta, to Father, August 2, 1864.

¹³¹*Ibid.*

¹³²James Hall, Atlanta, Ga., to Crenshaw, August 19, 1864.

forced him into north Alabama. Union cavalry swung south to Jonesboro, seized the line at Jonesboro, and wrecked the station and lifted a few rails. The Confederates ran them off, repaired the track, and had trains on it within a few days. This convinced Sherman that the cavalry would not do the job properly to destroy the railroad. Sherman kept up a heavy bombardment of Atlanta. Of this James wrote, "The Yankees are now shelling us and keeping us in our ditches as they do everyday."¹³³ Sherman moved twenty-two miles below Atlanta toward Jonesboro. Hood sent troops down the railroad to meet him, but Hood was overwhelmed on August 31 and September 1. Hood evacuated Atlanta, retreating south to Lovejoy's Station, and Sherman entered Atlanta, September 2.¹³⁴

According to James, he was not in the fight of August 31 because he was under arrest for disobeying an order of an adjutant concerning the number of pickets to be posted.¹³⁵ He had dysentery and was getting deathly tired of cold beef and corn bread.¹³⁶ During one of the battles near Atlanta, James had had a narrow escape. A minie ball passed through the visor of his cap, knocking it off and "whirling it around a half dozen times before it reached the ground.." His clothing had been struck four times though he had lost blood only twice since leaving Dalton.¹³⁷

After the fall of Atlanta, James claimed that the Army was "much less demoralized than you would suppose."¹³⁸ On September 21 Hood moved due west about twenty-five miles to Palmetto, Georgia. From this place James wrote one letter that has been preserved. It was filled with despair: "I am sick of this war." He had lost respect for his commanding officers and thought about giving up as an infantryman and joining the cavalry. His attitude seemed to have changed overnight. He spoke of being overcome by a sense of loneliness:

To be conscious that there is no one in the vast multitudes around to whom you trust as a friend, to know that you might

¹³³*Ibid.*

¹³⁴Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 368.

¹³⁵James Hall, Lovejoy Station, to Father, September 12, 1864.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*

¹³⁷James Hall, Atlanta, Ga., to Crenshaw, August 19, 1864.

¹³⁸James Hall, near (?), to Father, September 4, 1864.

have no friend to care for you in sickness or death, or to whom you would wish to entrust last messages to Father, to brothers and sisters—this is the sense of loneliness.¹³⁹

On September 25 President Davis visited the army and reviewed the troops. James only mentioned it. At the time he felt that Hood would return to Atlanta and flank Sherman out of the city. Union prisoners had spread the word that this could be done anytime Hood got ready.¹⁴⁰

Atlanta was not to be taken, however. Instead Hood moved north against the Western and Atlantic Railroad.¹⁴¹ At Allatoona there was a sharp encounter and the Confederates were driven off. James commented: "We tore up track from Big Shanty to Allatoona and from Tilton 6 miles below Dalton to Tunnel Hill." But tearing up track, though inconvenient for Sherman and his army, was not delivering damaging blows. Hood now embarked upon a plan to cross the Tennessee River, wreck communications well in Sherman's rear, move on Thomas and Schofield and rout them before they reached Nashville, advance into Kentucky and gather recruits.¹⁴² By October 21 the army had reached Gadsden, Alabama. From this place James wrote, "I think we are going into Tenn."¹⁴³ They left Gadsden on October 22 and marched down the Tennessee River to cross at Florence, Alabama. James' two letters from Florence indicated that he did not know exactly what was happening: "I have no idea in what direction we move."¹⁴⁴ It was bitter cold. By November 16 the river had been crossed, and Hood moved toward Nashville.

Just before the river crossing, James was invited to a dance. He managed to borrow enough clothing to make himself decent. It was amazing to him that at one moment he was too "dirty to be seen" and the next he was spending time with

¹³⁹James Hall, Palmetto, Ga., to Father, September 26, 1864.

¹⁴⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁴¹Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 374-377.

¹⁴²*Ibid.*

¹⁴³James Hall, Gadsden, Ala., to Father, October 21, 1864.

¹⁴⁴James Hall, Florence, Ala., to Father, November 4, 1864.

a "bevy of gay young ladies."⁴⁵ He lamented, "They will soon pass from my memory and I from theirs."

Hood marched on to disaster at Nashville, where his army was completely whipped by Thomas.

⁴⁵James Hall, Florence, Ala., to Laura, November 12, 1864.

CHAPTER V

1865

The war had brought physical ruin to Bolling Hall, Jr. After his return home late in 1864, he tried an artificial leg, but it proved very uncomfortable and painful. According to his military service record, he was paroled at Augusta, Georgia, on May 18, 1865.¹

Bolling was not cut out for war. His letters reveal that he was a very delicate and sensitive person. He was thoroughly committed to the cause of the Confederacy, but was the first to see the futility of continued resistance. His life was doubly tragic. A man of promise, education, and character, the war smashed him, stripping him forever of any opportunity he might have had to make a worth-while contribution to society. And then his death came painfully and slowly. As he waited, he could also see death coming for the Confederacy. Men killed instantly in battle never knew this kind of suffering. He died in January, 1866.

Crenshaw remained in the trenches at Petersburg. Bitter as it was to him to see desertion become a large-scale matter,² he seemed to comprehend it better than he had before. "A man," he wrote, "may pass through 49 battles and in all conduct himself with courage and gallantry—and in the 50 (th) he may fail—his courage gone."³ He tried to make the best of his miserable existence. He and another man built a bomb proof which they considered "as near perfection as a hole in the ground could be."⁴ It had a door, a glass window, a cottage bedstead, and an elegant fireplace. They covered it with a pile of dirt, but the first rain caved in the fillars and demolished it.⁵

During the fading days of the Confederacy, Crenshaw knew nothing of the future. He felt, however, that Lee's Army

¹Compiled Military Service Record of Bolling Hall, Jr.

²Crenshaw Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Bolling, Jr., February 22, 1865.

³*Ibid.*

⁴Crenshaw Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Laura, February 25, 1865.

⁵*Ibid.*

would strike "many more honest blows for the Confederacy."⁶ He believed that the Army would probably retreat into the interior where it could be refreshed and rebuilt. When he heard that President Davis had been authorized to call in Negro troops, he protested vehemently, but confessed that he preferred this humiliation to subjugation.⁷ As he contemplated the future, he remarked that he "might leave the country and wander in Mexico or South America."

On April 1 his brigade was involved in the Battle of Five Forks.⁸ In all probability he was there; and he may have been with Johnston's Division when they stacked arms at Appomattox.⁹ He was paroled on May 14, 1865, at Montgomery, Alabama.¹⁰

In January, 1865, John had written Bolling that desertions were so numerous that it seemed that the regiment had "sent reinforcements to Grant."¹¹ The few available letters from John do not indicate any great loss of faith in the cause of the Confederacy. He did feel that the citizens had become lukewarm and needed encouragement in some way. John was resigned to more fighting. During February he was still at Petersburg in "our old position at the 'Crater.'"¹²

Possibly in the Battle of Five Forks, John was struck in the left scapula by a minie ball and taken to the Fair Ground Port Hospital, where he was made a prisoner of war on April 3, 1865. He was transferred to the General Hospital, Petersburg, on April 7, 1865. And on July 10, 1865, he gave his pledge not "to take part in hostilities against the Gov't. of the United States until properly exchanged."¹³

After Hood had been defeated at Nashville, he retreated. During Christmas, 1864, he crossed over the Tennessee River and went into camp at Tupelo, Mississippi, on January 10,

⁶Crenshaw Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Laura, March 12, 1865.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, III, 675.

⁹*Ibid.*, 748.

¹⁰Compiled Military Service Record of Crenshaw Hall.

¹¹John Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Bolling, January 28, 1865.

¹²John Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Laura, February 8, 1865.

¹³Compiled Military Service Record of John Hall.

1865.¹⁴ About 4,000 of the Army of Tennessee were shipped to Mobile from Tupelo and the remainder to South Carolina. While en route, James was able to stop off at home and spend some time.¹⁵ When James returned to the army he was in two skirmishes. His orderly sergeant was wounded by his side.¹⁶ Sherman forged ahead toward Goldsboro, North Carolina. By March he was in North Carolina. On March 12, 1865, James wrote: "I suppose we go again to confront Sherman. I have now 27 men besides myself. I don't know when I'll have another opportunity to write."¹⁷ He did not write. James was wounded in the "last fight of the war,"¹⁸ presumably Johnston's stand against Sherman at Bentonville. James was taken to General Hospital No. 3, Greensboro, North Carolina, in March. While still in the hospital on May 1, 1865, he was paroled.¹⁹

Thus came to a close the Civil War experiences of the sons of Bolling Hall, five Confederate soldiers of whom it can be said, gave their lives to a dying cause.

¹⁴Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 420-428.

¹⁵John Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Laura, February 3, 1865.

¹⁶Crenshaw Hall, Petersburg, Va., to Laura, March 12, 1865.

¹⁷James Hall, Goldsboro, N.C., to Father, March 7, 1865.

¹⁸J. M. J. Tolly, Greensboro, N.C., to James, April 22, 1865.

¹⁹Compiled Military Service Record of James Hall.

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This study is based on the *Bolling Hall Papers, 1861-April 22, 1865* which consists mainly of some three hundred twenty-five letters from Bolling Hall's five sons who served the Confederate Army. This microfilm material in The University of Texas Library is classified as Ramsdell Collection, Rolls 319B-322.

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